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LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP MACHRAY

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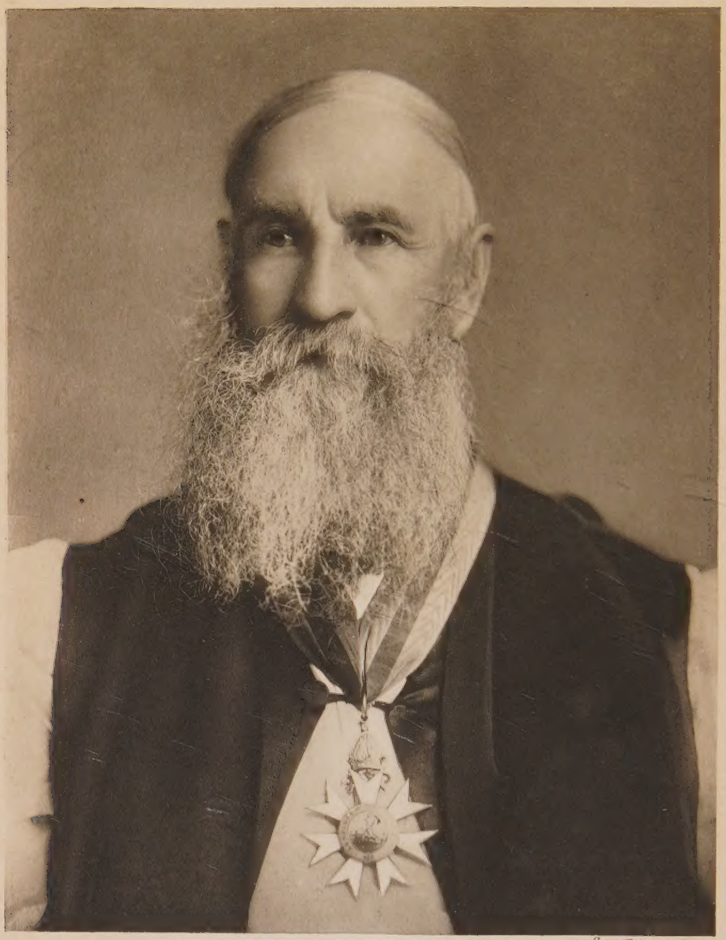

Archbishop Machray

LIFE OF
ROBERT MACHRAY

D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

ARCHBISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND
PRIMATE OF ALL CANADA
PRELATE OF THE ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL
AND ST. GEORGE

BY HIS NEPHEW

ROBERT MACHRAY

SOMETIME CANON OF ST. JOHN'S, WINNIPEG

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
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PREFACE

"In the Providence of God I have been present at the birth of a new people," said Archbishop Machray when addressing in London a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The words were spoken in 1888, and he did not die until 1904; if to them be added the statement that he played a great part—and played it greatly—in the shaping of that new people it will be evident that his life is one of exceptional and enduring interest. During an episcopate of nearly forty years, first as Bishop, then as Metropolitan, and finally as Archbishop of Rupert's Land, he witnessed and actively participated in the rise and progress of Manitoba and North-West Canada, the splendid territory, with an area as large as Europe, which for two centuries was known to the world by the name of his See.

Consecrated at Lambeth in 1865 he went out from England as second Bishop of Rupert's Land to the only district in his Diocese of much consequence, the Red River Settlement, from which in 1870 sprang the Province of Manitoba, its capital, Winnipeg, having its origin in Fort Garry, the chief trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company in that region. The great bulk of the population of Rupert's Land in those days consisted of wandering tribes of Indians, at no time numerous; the pure white population was probably well under a thousand souls, and there may have been

besides from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants of mixed blood. The sole value the land possessed was derived from its fur-bearing animals; the buffalo still roamed the great plains, though no longer in enormous herds; save to the hunter, the trapper, and the fur trader, the country remained *terra incognita*. The change began a little before 1870, when it was more clearly indicated on the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion, but it was not observable to any marked extent until 1880, in which year a railway from the south reached Winnipeg; five years later the Canadian Pacific Railway stretched east and west of Winnipeg across the continent, and the change was patent to all the world. A new people had been born, and the old order had for ever passed away. Settlers in their thousands invaded the great solitudes, and towns, villages, municipalities, and innumerable homesteads came into quick existence on the far-sweeping prairies. The movement continues to-day, and will continue with accelerating force for at least another generation or more, for the land is vast and capable of supporting many millions.

By far the greater part of Archbishop Machray's episcopate lies in this period of change and transition. He not only saw the change, but foresaw it, and, so far as was possible, prepared for it; when it came he strove, in such manner as his position permitted, to give to it a high and noble character. Naturally, he was not a politician, though, as a matter of fact, to the country, Canada, and the Empire, he rendered the greatest political services in the course of the Red River Rebellion of 1869-70—services that have never been properly acknowledged or appreciated—by a wise pacificist policy which preserved the colony

from civil war, and probably from annexation (see Chapters IX. and X.). There was a time when the destiny of Manitoba and the North-West hung in the balance, and there was good reason to doubt whether they were to remain British or pass into other hands; to him, more than to any other one man, is it due that this magnificent heritage does remain to Canada and the Empire. But the life of a Bishop of the English Church in the Colonies is, as a rule, but little concerned with politics; its sphere lies elsewhere. While Archbishop Machray brought to the new people of the land the gifts of sympathy and understanding in their efforts to possess it, his influence on them was mainly exercised, as might be expected, in and through the Church of which he was the head in the country, and by his action with respect to education not only from the Church point of view, but in the general interests of the community. In his opinion religion and education were not to be divorced, but to go on hand in hand in happy accord. Acknowledging fully the necessity of a wide and efficient secular education, he strenuously opposed the complete secularisation of the schools on public as well as religious grounds.

It is first as a great Churchman, and then as a great educationist, that the Archbishop is to be deemed truly remarkable.

1. The great Churchman. Born a Presbyterian and reared in the atmosphere of the Church of Scotland, he very early in life came to the conclusion to be an Episcopalian, and to cherish the ambition of becoming a clergyman of the Church of England. When that ambition was realised, his attitude was expressed when he said that he could see "no way of doing things better" than the Church had directed, but he did not

unchurch others who could not see eye to eye with him. There was nothing of the bigot about the man, and he desired to live, and did live, on good terms with those who did not hold his views, but he was devoted to the Church of England, and upheld its distinctive polity—Orders, Services, and methods. He was not a great Churchman in the sense of being one of those who hand over all outside the Church to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." He was a great Churchman because of his services to the Church as a leader, a wise master-builder and governor, and an ecclesiastical statesman. Of an intensely practical turn of mind, every process of which was clear and logical, he had a genius for organisation, for making plans and —what is a much rarer thing—for carrying them out, for translating thought and ideas into living and effective action for obtaining results. In 1865 the Diocese of Rupert's Land had little or no organisation, and depended almost entirely on subsidies from Church Societies; the only endowment was that of the Bishopric. The new Bishop began by organising the parishes and inculcating the principle of self-support. In some of the obituary notices of the Archbishop it was stated that he was far-sighted enough to see that the day would come when the English Church Societies that subsidised the Diocese would withdraw their grants, and therefore pressed on his people this principle of self-support; but this is to misstate the fact, which is that he taught his people that self-support was right in itself, and that it was a wrong thing for churches that could support themselves to be dependent on outside aid.

The Church of England is a "voluntary" Church in Canada—it receives no assistance from the State,

and moves, so far as an Episcopal Church can, on democratic lines. Very early in his episcopate Archbishop Machray summoned a Conference of his Clergy and Laity, and the Conference soon developed into a representative Synod—a self-supporting Church was to be self-governing. The Synod elected an Executive Committee, which became, as it were, the Council and the Cabinet of the Bishop. The Bishop did not interfere with or intervene in the elections of lay representatives to the Synod or the election of the Executive Committee, but he retained the episcopal veto—which he never had occasion to exercise. For several years the circumstances of the Diocese were such that he acted as its treasurer and financier, and the custody of the Church property was vested in him as a corporation sole, but so soon as suitable arrangements could be made he handed over everything to the Synod. In every way he strove to make the Synod a real, responsible, efficient Parliament of the Diocese. But the Diocese was huge and, as regards episcopal supervision, unmanageable; a Visitation of its far North-Western missions entailed an absence of nearly two years from his headquarters. His next great step in organisation was the division of the See into four Dioceses under himself as Metropolitan of an Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, and the formation of a Provincial Synod, consisting of a House of Bishops and a House of Delegates elected by the Synods of the Dioceses. As the country grew further divisions took place. In 1865 Rupert's Land was one See, with eighteen clergy; in 1904, when the Archbishop died, the original See had become nine Sees, with some two hundred clergy. Of all this great development the Archbishop was the chief moving and inspiring spirit.

In the union of all the Canadian Dioceses under the General Synod he did not take the initiative, but he played a commanding part in the formation of that Synod; with the unanimous approval of the Church he was elected Primate of All Canada, and it was largely through his influence and guidance that the General Synod became a living reality, fruitful in great results throughout the Dominion, as the Supreme Governing Body of the Church.

For the greater part of his episcopate the Diocese of Rupert's Land became, by successive divisions, practically identical with the Province of Manitoba, which was the first portion of the North-West, or as it is often called, simply, the West, to be opened up for settlement on a considerable scale by the introduction of railways. Anticipating what was to happen, the Archbishop, then Bishop, made such preparation as was in his power to make. He was anxious to "hold the ground for the Church," as he himself expressed it. In Eastern Canada, as in the United States, the Church was largely a Church of the towns, with but little hold on the rural districts; many members of the Church who had settled on farms away from the towns had been lost to it owing to the absence of its ministrations and the aggressiveness of other religious bodies; the Archbishop took thought and planned, worked, and fought with all his might to prevent this state of things from being reproduced in his Diocese. As has been said, he had no ill-will to other religious organisations; to the day of his death he lived in great amity with Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Baptists, but as he was intensely loyal to the Church of England, and saw "no way of doing things better," it was pain and grief to him that any of the Church's sons and daughters

should be lost to it. The larger part of this book is mostly concerned with the story of this great struggle of his, this fight for the starting and the keeping going of missions to the settlers in the Diocese, generally with means quite inadequate to the effort. He began this part of his work by establishing a College-Cathedral centre at St. John's, Winnipeg, which was also the centre of the Diocesan missions—settlement missions as well as Indian ; for the Diocese had two sides, which may be called a White and a Red, but as the Whites poured into the country the missions to the Red Men necessarily took a second place, though they were in no way neglected.

St. John's Cathedral, the Mother Church of the Diocese and of the other Western Dioceses, was founded by the Archbishop's predecessor, Bishop Anderson, who had also founded St. John's College, but was unsuccessful in carrying it on. The College had been closed for several years before the Archbishop went out to the country as Bishop of Rupert's Land ; one of the first things he did was to revive it, and then to establish Professorships, to procure endowments, to erect new buildings. A large part of his life was devoted to the establishment of the College as an institution, first, for the education and training of clergy, and, second, for higher education generally. The sale of the Cathedral glebe provided endowments for its Dean and Chapter, all of whom, under Statutes he gave to the Cathedral and College, were Professors in the College, so that each Professor was either the Dean or a Canon of the Cathedral. He arranged that this capitular body was also to do missionary work, and most of the domestic missions of the Diocese and some in the other Dioceses of the Ecclesiastical Province were, as a matter of fact,

started and nursed, until they were able to support resident clergymen, by the College-Cathedral staff; the College-Cathedral organisation, therefore, was at once on the lines of some of the English Cathedrals, and at the same time on those of the Associate Missions of the American Church. At the time of the Archbishop's death more than half the clergy of his Diocese were graduates of St. John's College, and it is not too much to say that if it had not been for this plan of the Archbishop's he could never have held the ground for the Church in the manner he did.

"The life of a Colonial Bishop," the Archbishop wrote in 1899 to Mr. Herbert Anderson, a son of his predecessor, "is the history of a constant struggle, work ever branching out, calls on all hands, and such insufficient means." There, in brief, is an epitome of the life of Archbishop Machray for the whole of his episcopate. That it was a successful struggle, however, though not so successful as he could have desired, is evident from the growth of the Church under him, which has already been summarised above. In 1904, when he passed away, there were in the much-reduced Diocese of Rupert's Land nearly a hundred clergy and three hundred congregations; in the old Red River Settlement there had been some half a dozen clergy. A great record, truly, so that it was perhaps not wonderful that even in his lifetime he was spoken of as "The Apostle of Rupert's Land."

2. The great educationist. When the Archbishop arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1865 he found little or no education; there were no public schools, and but one private school. Besides reviving St. John's College, he set to work to establish schools, and soon each parish had its school. When the Province

of Manitoba was created the Government took over the schools, placing them under a Board of Education. This Board was divided into two sections, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, and of the former the Archbishop was Chairman. Some twenty years later new legislation affecting the public schools did away with the Board of Education, which was replaced, to a certain extent, by an Advisory Board, and of this the Archbishop was elected Chairman, retaining the position until his death. Thus he was connected very closely with the education of the country during his whole episcopate, and devoted much thought and time to it. Mention has already been made of his work in connection with St. John's College, but it may be added here that he acted as a Professor in the College, of which he was Warden, and taught in its College School, being its Head Master until the end of his life. An important and striking educational development in the life of Manitoba took place in 1877—the founding of its State University, an institution conceived on lines as original as admirable. The Government appointed the Archbishop Chancellor of the University, and Chancellor he remained to his death. No one exercised so great an influence on the University's development as did the Archbishop, and its flourishing condition is largely due to his broad and liberal views on education, his knowledge at first hand of University work, and the wisdom and tact he showed in reconciling differing and sometimes sharply opposed opinions. It was in recognition of his great services to education that at his death the Government of Manitoba decreed that he should be given a State Funeral.

The Archbishop was not a great preacher, had no gift of eloquence, and did not love to appear promi-

nently on public occasions. Though the highest honours came to him freely, he was the least ambitious of men. When unanimously elected by his brother Bishops to the Primacy of All Canada he shrank from the position, but accepted it remembering that grace is given to him that seeks it aright. Of course he was pleased when honours came; he highly valued the distinction of being appointed Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George by Queen Victoria. His chief characteristic was a high and noble sense of duty. Munificent in disposition, untiring in industry, indomitable in perseverance, he lived a long, full life, marked by singleness of purpose and no little self-sacrifice. Withal he was a sympathetic, loving, tender-hearted man. Nothing of a mystic, he yet lived by faith in the Unseen and the Eternal; not in the least a pietist, and hating cant, his religious feeling flowed deep and strong, nourishing all the roots of his being. His was a great personality — even to his bodily appearance, which was singularly striking and impressive, particularly in his later years. His was a well-rounded life of hope and fulfilment, of effort and achievement, and ere he died it was his happy lot to see the prospering of the work of his hands, and the rising up of a stately fabric on the foundations he had well and truly laid.

To present such a life, such a career, such a character at all adequately is an impossible task; performance limps far behind the will. It has seemed to me to be best to set forth his life as simply, straightforwardly, and directly as was possible to me, making but few comments of my own. I have tried to let the story tell itself. Panegyric is the bane of biography, and I have endeavoured to avoid it, so far as might be. I did not like having this book consist of a great collec-

tion of the Archbishop's letters, with a sort of running commentary; in biographies of that kind the letters are often "skipped," to say nothing of the fact that such biographies are frequently of inordinate length. But I trust that nothing of importance or of an illuminating character has been left out.

Fortunately the materials were abundant. For his early years—from his birth to his becoming Dean of Sidney College, Cambridge—there was a narrative in MS., written by the Archbishop himself, at my suggestion, to wile away the tedium of his convalescence in 1902-3, and Chapters I. to V. are largely based upon it. A great part of the Archbishop's correspondence was accidentally destroyed, but enough remained in his numerous and often lengthy letters to the great English Church Societies — the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—and to friends in Canada, England, and elsewhere. To the heads and other officials of the Societies, and to the other friends who helped by lending letters, documents of various kinds, and photographs, I am very much indebted. I am specially under obligation to the Rev. C. Alfred Jones, till lately Vicar of Dedham, for so many years my uncle's Commissary and his life-long friend, not only for the loan of letters and papers, but for a kind and helpful revision of my text. I am also deep in debt to other old and dear English friends of the Archbishop, notably the Rev. J. C. Williams-Ellis, of Glasfryn, Wales, and the Bishop of St. Germans, Truro. Mr. Williams-Ellis very kindly revised the chapters of the biography which deal with the Archbishop's career at Cambridge.

I have found a great store of information in the Archbishop's Addresses to the various Diocesan, Provincial, and General Synods over which he presided. In his Addresses to the Synod of Rupert's Land, it was his custom not only to pass in review the history of the Church in his adopted country, but also to make some comment on its civil history: of these I have made full use. Archbishop Matheson, his successor in the See, and now also Primate of All Canada, Bishop Pinkham of Calgary, and Bishop Grisdale of Qu'Appelle, have been of material assistance. All three stood by the Archbishop's side in the early years of his episcopate, and remained fellow-workers with him for considerable periods; nearly the whole of Archbishop Matheson's life was spent with him. I have received invaluable help from relatives, especially my brother, John A. Machray of Winnipeg, who lived as a son with the Archbishop for more than twenty years. Both Archbishop Matheson and my brother have revised my text. I may be permitted to add that I spent ten years under the Archbishop at St. John's, Winnipeg, first as a student of the College from 1874 to 1879, and second as a Canon of the Cathedral from 1883 to 1889, and that I acted as his secretary during his illness and convalescence in 1902-3. It was intended that this biography should be published three or four years ago, but various circumstances conspired to delay its writing. A little distance of view and a somewhat better perspective have been gained. Looking over my uncle's life as a whole, never, it seems to me, was the saying more vividly exemplified—*laborare est orare*.

ROBERT MACHRAY.

AUTHORS' CLUB,
LONDON, 1909.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

1831–1847

Robert Machray, the future Archbishop of Rupert's Land and the first Primate of All Canada, was born at Aberdeen, May 17, 1831. His father, also named Robert Machray, was a graduate of Marischal College, and a member of the Society of Advocates of Aberdeen, then as now the most important legal organisation in the North of Scotland, with privileges of their own, a hall and fine library, and considerable accumulated funds. The advocate's father, John Machray, held the farm of Caiesmill in the parish of Dyce, Aberdeenshire, but his main business was that of a manufacturer of woollens—blankets and cloths of the homespun description. The farm lay about the mill and stretched up the slopes of the hills at the foot of which ran the stream that drove the wheel. The mother of the advocate was Mary Martin, sister of Theodore Martin, the grandfather of the late Sir Theodore Martin, the biographer of Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria and father of King Edward, and the joint-author of the famous *Bon Gaultier Ballads*. John Machray was killed suddenly by an accident when driving, his only child being Robert Machray, the advocate.

The name Machray is a variant of the Gaelic word,

which is most generally but not perhaps most accurately Anglicised as Macrae. The clan name is spelled in several other ways—M'Rae, M'Crae, M'Crea, M'Crie, Macra, Macray, Makray, Mackray, and so on; sometimes the prefix disappears, and the appellation becomes Cray, Crie, Craw, Crae, Ray, Rae. The clan originally came from Ireland, and were close friends for centuries of the Mackenzies and Macleans, whose lands in Scotland marched with theirs; they were intimately connected with the Mackenzies of Kintail. These Aberdeenshire members of the sept appear to have spelled themselves Machray for generations; the *ch* was pronounced soft like the *ch* in loch, not hard as *k*. It is uncertain when they first migrated from the clan country which lies round the shores of Loch Duich, under the shadow of Ben Attow, in the county of Ross, eastward of Skye. They first settled in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and then moved south into Aberdeenshire. They bore the clan arms—the arms are incorporated in the arms of the Archbishop, and may be seen on the right side of the shield shown on the cover of this book.

The widow of John Machray of Caiesmill remarried, her second husband being John Allan, a farmer, by whom she had three sons—John, James, and Theodore. In addition to Caiesmill, the Allans also had the neighbouring farm of Begsley, which a descendant still holds. Mrs. Allan was again unfortunate, for her second husband, like her first, lost his life by an accident. After his death it was found that his affairs were much involved, but the widow, who was a woman of character and marked capacity, managed so well that she paid off all his debts. John Allan, the eldest son of the second marriage, having taken over Caiesmill

after his father's death, remained there, while his brother James went to Begsley with his mother; the third son, Theodore, entered Marischal College, from which he graduated with great distinction. It is with this Theodore Allan that the early history of the subject of this biography is intertwined, and in large measure he it was who gave to the boy those ideals of high purpose and noble service that inspired the man.

On his mother's side the Archbishop was also of Highland ancestry. Her maiden name was Christian Macallum, and she had been brought up by her uncle, Major M'Lean, a retired army officer. Major M'Lean's father was a gentleman of the M'Leans who joined Prince Charles in the '45, though the clan, as a whole, was kept from coming out by the management of Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session; after Culloden his estate was confiscated and a price was put on his head, but he lay concealed for a long time on Lord Aberdeen's property in either New Deer or Old Deer, and eventually escaped. Dr. M'Lean, Professor of Hebrew in Marischal College, a son of Major M'Lean, made an effort to recover the forfeited estate, but without success. The M'Leans had been Episcopalians; Major M'Lean and his niece, Christian Macallum, attended St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Aberdeen; after the Major's death the M'Leans conformed to the Church of Scotland, as did Christian Macallum on or shortly before her marriage to Robert Machray, the advocate, who was a Presbyterian. The only other member of the M'Lean family that had issue was a daughter who married a Waterloo officer of the name of Wishart; he obtained a grant of land in Canada and settled

at Dundas, Ontario; descendants of theirs were in Winnipeg in the 'eighties; they were Episcopalians.

To Robert and Christian Machray were born three children, two sons and a daughter. Their elder son, Robert, was baptized in the East Parish Church of Aberdeen, and the names of the witnesses on the baptismal certificate are those of Sheriff Falconer—in whose office, prior to the Sheriff's promotion to the bench, the child's father had received his legal training—and Dr. M'Lean, the mother's cousin above mentioned. Sir Theodore Martin, then a lad of sixteen, was amongst those present at the ceremony. A younger son, William Forsyth, was born three years later. Both boys had scarlet fever, but William did not take it till after Robert had recovered. The Archbishop used to tell with much amusement a story of this time. The family physician was a Dr. Fraser, and he must have been a surgeon too, of a rough-and-ready sort. After he was better Robert, boy-like, made a practice of waylaying the doctor to tell him how William was getting on—till one day the doctor, observing a small wart on the end of Robert's nose, took it out with his nails: "After which, well, I avoided him," said the Archbishop with a smile. Robert, when a very small child, learned the letters of the alphabet from a large Family Bible.

Shortly after the Dr. Fraser episode he went to the City English School, where, or rather in its vicinity, an accident befell him which might have been fatal. Coming out of Drum's Lane, where the school was situated, into the Upper Kirkgate, he was run over by a carriage, the second wheels of which were stopped when one of them was about to go over his head. When picked up, his first exclamation was for his

school-books. He was taken home, examined by a number of doctors and the parish minister, who had hastened to the house on hearing of the accident, and was pronounced uninjured. It was marvellous that neither the horses nor the first wheels of the carriage, which had passed over him, had done him any harm. He did not remain long at this school, for his father broke down in his circumstances and went to America, where he died. Relatives and friends rallied to his mother's assistance, and she made a successful struggle against adversity. The boy went to live with his uncle, Theodore Allan, to whom he became as a son.

Theodore Allan was now a probationer of the Church of Scotland, that is, he was licensed but not ordained. He had been tutor in several families of position, and had seen a good deal of society. For some years he had been Rector of the Academy at Nairn, which had long been a flourishing institution. Very amiable in disposition, he was a universal favourite. A man of wide scholarship, he was also an excellent schoolmaster ; many of the sons of the county gentry boarded with him in his house, and attended the Academy. To him, then, the boy went when he was not quite six years old, travelling from Aberdeen to Nairn, a distance of about a hundred miles, by the "Defiance" coach. Though he was exceedingly healthy, he was easily upset by any motion—a disability that remained more or less with him to the end of his life ; he could not travel inside a carriage without being made ill ; he could not at first bear even the gentle movement of a canal boat ; and to the last he was a bad sailor, and never enjoyed his voyages across the Atlantic. So the little fellow rode all the way to Nairn on the top of the coach. He spent two years

in that town with his uncle Theodore, with whom, as it happened, these two years were a critical time, for during it fever broke out in the school, and several of the boys died; the Academy had to be closed, and when it was reopened the attendance was meagre, few of the boarders coming back. Mr. Allan thought the outlook so discouraging that when he was offered the parish school of Coull in Aberdeenshire, he deemed it wise to accept it.

In his later years the Archbishop did not retain many recollections of his stay at Nairn. He recalled a visit paid with his uncle to Sir James and Lady Dunbar of Boath, two of whose sons died when boarders at the Academy. What was perhaps his most distinct remembrance of that time was curious enough, and how it was impressed on his memory is easily understood. Dr. Bayne, one of the physicians in the town, had charge of an Aberdeenshire lady who was deranged but quite harmless; she had the fixed idea that all the persons she met were people of past ages come to life again, and she generally selected rôles for them with whimsical inappropriateness—sometimes, no doubt, the effect being hardly satisfactory to her victims. The boy saw her more than once at Dr. Bayne's house, and on one of these occasions she said to him—this small boy of seven years—with solemn conviction, "You are Job returned to life!" He never forgot the grotesque announcement of the poor mad lady. While at Nairn he was rather young for the usual games of boys; one of his favourite amusements was to erect a pulpit and preach, and another, caused by the presence in the school of sons of officers in the army, was to play at soldiers.

Coull is a parish of Western Aberdeenshire, some

thirty miles from the capital of the county ; it lies in a rich and fertile valley surrounded by bleak hills, with Morven well in view ; through a rent in these hills there can be seen far off the glories of the almost perpendicular rocks of Lochnagar, the "dark Lochnagar" of Byron, who also spoke of it as "the most sublime and picturesque of the Scottish Alps." In the autumn of 1838 Theodore Allan and the boy moved to Coull, and one or two of the Nairn schoolboys accompanied them, amongst them being James Farrel Pennycuick, a son of Colonel Pennycuick of the 17th Regiment.

With Theodore Allan there also went to Coull his high reputation as a schoolmaster, and it was no long time before he was again in prosperous circumstances. Coull is a small parish, with a small school, but he attracted many pupils from outside, not a few of them gentlemen's sons who boarded with him. "Alick" Pennycuick joined his brother James ; the two Pennycuicks and Robert Machray became warm friends ; the three boys were together until Robert was about twelve, when the Pennycuicks left—a great grief to him, partly mitigated, however, by the gift from Alick of a lock of hair which he long cherished. Soon afterwards James Pennycuick entered Woolwich, and in due course became an officer in the Royal Horse Artillery ; while Alick, later, went to Sandhurst and obtained a commission in the 24th, into which his father had exchanged from the 17th Regiment. A dark fate rested over the younger of these two young men, for he and his father, then Brigadier-General, were both killed in one and the same battle, Chillianwalla. Among the other boarders of note were J. Lamond, son of the Laird of Pitmarchie in Lumphanan, an

adjoining valley parish set among the hills ; and John Forbes Watson, who afterwards, as Dr. Forbes Watson, rose to great distinction in the Indian Medical Service. Robert was much attached to Forbes Watson, and spent a vacation with him at his father's place, Colquhonny, in Strathdon.

The excellence of the school at Coull was proved in a marked manner. At this period the parish schoolmasters of Aberdeenshire were very superior to those of the rest of Scotland. They were almost all University graduates, and commonly probationers of the Church of Scotland. Besides their stipends, they had a house and a glebe sufficient for a garden and the keep of a horse and a cow, as had many other Scottish schoolmasters. But the Aberdeenshire schoolmasters, with those of Banff and Moray, were entitled to a share in the Dick Bequest, the amount, if any, depending on the scholarship shown in an examination of the school by the Agent of the Trust, who at that time was Mr. Menzies, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, and Agent for the Church of Scotland. Theodore Allan passed with great distinction, and his school received the highest praise, with the gratifying result that he was awarded the largest grant which could be given from the Bequest. He also obtained a grant from the Milne Bequest, a Trust somewhat similar to the Dick Bequest, but confined to Aberdeenshire schoolmasters. It was in this fine school, under its notable, talented, much-loved master, that the boy remained, until his uncle's death in 1847. His holidays were generally spent with either his mother in Aberdeen or his grandmother at Begsley.

In all Scottish parishes the manse plays an important part. The Minister of Coull in those days was the

Rev. W. Campbell, who had been "first bursar," that is, the student who had gained the first bursary of his year, at King's College, Aberdeen. He was able, scholarly, genial, and refined. His wife, one of the sweetest of women, had been the widow of a Dr. Mackenzie, and her three children by the first marriage lived at the manse with three children she had by her second. It was a very amiable family, and there was much intercourse between the manse and the school. The eldest son, William Mackenzie, attended the school, and became a great playmate of Robert's. After a time William went to the University, but when he came home for his vacations the two boys used to go fishing and shooting together. Once they had a fight—a rather one-sided affair. James Pennycuick, towards the close of 1845, came from Woolwich to spend the Christmas holidays at the old school, and he contrived to make a "match" between the two. William was a stout, strong-built lad, while Robert was tall, thin, and weedy. The former struck the latter a blow in the abdomen, cut off his breath, and laid him low, thus bringing the fight to an "untimely end." But they were none the worse friends after that, and had some happy times with Pennycuick. One evening they joined a party spearing trout in the Tarland by torchlight. But Pennycuick was full of his military studies, and he set the others to erecting forts, and planned both their attack and defence. One day they spent in exploring the great Hill of Morven; they had a gun with them, but it would not work. This gun, which had been lent to Pennycuick by a merchant in the village of Tarland, burst a day or two later, but without injuring any one. The boys went to the merchant and bought the gun, but took care not to inform him

of the catastrophe. James Pennycuick soon returned to Woolwich. His career in the army was distinguished; he served in the Crimea and elsewhere, and died a Lieutenant-General in 1888.

As a rule, Robert did not take much part in the usual school games, for he was a studious boy, fond of books, but during that winter he was nearly killed while at play. One of the favourite diversions of the bigger scholars at Coull in the winter was hockey, or "shinty" rather, a less scientific form of the sport, played with clubs and a ball. In the course of the game a club flew out of the hands of a lad called Skene, a son of the Tarland merchant from whom the gun was bought, and hit Robert on the head, causing a long and deep wound, and making him nearly insensible. Mr. Allan was immediately summoned to the playground, and not knowing who had done the deed, he asked Skene, who was an athletic youth, to run to Tarland for a doctor. Skene went with a will, anxious to make what amends he could, succeeded in finding a doctor, and returned with him post-haste. The wound was sewed up and Robert put to bed. The wound, however, healed quickly, but left a life-mark. Probably this accident discouraged Robert's never very strong liking for school sports. For the most part his hours out of school were spent in reading, or in writing fanciful stories and essays. His uncle had a splendid library, and he made excellent use of it.

He had read a great variety of works before he was sixteen. He had a marked predilection for history; he devoured Gibbon's large work, Robertson's *History*, Buchanan's *History of Scotland* in English, D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, and Josephus. He was particularly fond of Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*—the library contained

all the series, Scottish and French, and the boy revelled in them. There were no novels in the library, not even Scott's! On the other hand, he read very serious books indeed, such as Hill's *Lectures on Divinity*. In truth, he made himself acquainted with most of the books which his uncle possessed : he was an omnivorous reader. Theodore Allan was most kind to the boy, and helped him to understand what he read, discussing with him the points and questions raised from time to time. This in itself was an education.

It was during this time of reading and discussion that he came to have a secret longing for the Church of England, and to prefer its form of government and its Service especially as far better than that of the Presbyterians. It will be remembered that it was at this period that the great event in Scottish ecclesiastical history known as the Disruption took place ; the actual date was 1843, when hundreds of the ministers of the Established Church gave up their livings and formed the Free Church of Scotland, taking most of their congregations with them. All the ministers of Aberdeen seceded, with 10,000 adherents. Feeling ran very high in those days in Scotland ; families were divided, brother from brother and sister from sister ; the nation was disrupted as well as the Church. Theodore Allan was a Liberal in politics, and rather sympathised with the views of those who founded the Free Church. These views included the right of each congregation to select its own minister, instead of having one "intruded" upon it by a patron, and the right of the Church, as a whole, to rule and regulate its own affairs in accordance with its Standards, instead of being subject to the State. Theodore's brothers at Begsley and Caiesmill joined the Free Church, but

he and his sister-in-law, the lad's mother, remained members of the Church of Scotland.

In spite of his uncle's Liberalism, Robert chose to adopt the principles and opinions of his mother and her family, who were Tories, and to favour very decidedly what was called the "Moderate" side of Presbyterianism, which was satisfied with State control and had no extreme views on mysterious and controverted dogmas. His attitude was so notorious in his own small circle that one evening in the manse of Coull, when the young people were having their fortunes told from eggs dropped into a glass, the fortune predicted for him was that he was to be a Moderate minister, with a church but no congregation—a fate that was not without illustration in some parts of the country, or perhaps it may have been suggested by a Free Kirk couplet of the time :

> The walls are thick, the folk are thin;
> The Lord's gone out, the Deil's gone in !

When his mother and he were visiting at Begsley they did not attend the Free Church with the Allans, which was near at hand, but went to the parish church of Dyce, four miles distant.

While reading and thinking much on these high matters, he did not neglect his lessons. In 1845 the school received a gift of prizes from the Edinburgh Aberdeenshire Society ; and the Committee of Presbytery, who examined, awarded him the first prizes for Latin, Greek, and Arithmetic. Then there came a check. It may have been that his place in the school as head boy begat a spirit of over-confidence ; but when, in October 1846, he went to Aberdeen and tried for a bursary at King's College, he failed. He was the

first to get through the exercise, hand in his paper, and leave the hall—not a very hopeful sign. In the following year he was to receive another disappointment of a similar kind. Yet he was a good scholar, as was shown in a striking way. In the spring of 1847 his uncle Theodore paid a visit to his relatives at Begsley. The weather on the journey was wet and stormy, and Mr. Allan, drenched through with rain, caught a chill, which caused a serious illness destined to terminate fatally. He was brought back to Coull, became no better, and was never afterwards able to teach in the school.

Robert, then a boy of sixteen, took his place temporarily. As things turned out, he was in charge of the school for three months, when a new master was appointed. During the evenings he amused himself by translating Book xxi. of Livy, and by writing an essay on the renderings of the English Infinitive into Latin. While he conducted the school, it was examined both by Mr. Menzies, Agent for the Dick Bequest, and by Dr. Cruickshank, Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, who represented the Trustees of the Milne Bequest. Through this severe ordeal he and the school passed triumphantly; both examiners assured Theodore Allan that they were fully satisfied, and they reported to that effect to their principals. Every allowance being made for a natural desire on their part to tranquillise the mind of a man upon whom rested the shadow of death, their testimony is abundant evidence of the lad's scholarship and ability.

It was now determined that Robert was to go up to the University, and Marischal College was selected, the College of which both his father and uncle were

graduates. In those days Marischal College was an independent University, as was also King's College; the former is in New Aberdeen, the latter in Old Aberdeen, the two towns then being some distance apart; at present, as for nearly fifty years, the two Colleges are joined in one University, and since 1891 New and Old Aberdeen form one city of Aberdeen. By way of special preparation, the lad was sent to the Grammar School of Aberdeen, of which the celebrated Dr. Melvin was then Rector. So great was his fame as a teacher of Latin that almost all the students who intended entering either Marischal or King's endeavoured to spend under him the three months preceding the Universities' Bursary Competitions. Dr. Melvin had about two hundred youths in two classes, known as the Fourth and Fifth, whom he kept in perfect order, absolute silence being the rule, save, of course, when he or the student addressed spoke. Robert was put in the Fifth, the highest class in the school. Here he found a friend in a Mr. George Mills, who during the previous year had come over from Lumphanan, where he was a teacher, to Theodore Allan for lessons in Latin, which Robert also took. While attending the Grammar School they both did additional exercises with the Rev. W. Duncan, a minister of the Free Church and a fine Latinist.

Once, when conversing with Mr. Duncan about the choice of a profession, Robert said to him that his aim was to be a schoolmaster like his uncle Theodore, but that he had quite made up his mind not to enter the Presbyterian ministry. In the background lay the thought of becoming a clergyman of the Church of England or of the Scottish Episcopal Church, but he did not give it expression—if this hope proved vain,

then he was resolved to be a schoolmaster. For the profession of teaching, as for education, he ever cherished the deepest regard; to him there was only one profession which was higher, and that was the ministry of the Church. It was his happy lot to combine both. As his biography will show, he was afterwards a schoolmaster, though not a schoolmaster only, for many years—till, in fact, within a short period of the close of his life. Theodore Allan builded better than he knew.

When Robert left the Grammar School he was given a certificate by Dr. Melvin which set forth that he had "conducted himself with the utmost propriety," had been "attentive, diligent, and steady," and had made "highly respectable progress in his studies"—swelling words perhaps, but doubtless comforting to Uncle Theodore, who lay dying at Coull. And the words of praise were accompanied by the conquest of a much-coveted Latin prize. This success encouraged the lad to go up for the Bursary Competition at Marischal College, but he failed. His friend Mills gained a bursary, though he did not get a prize at the Grammar School. Robert's failure seems strange, but the Bursary Competition of those days was a very unreliable test of scholarship. Dr. Melvin's most promising Latin scholar of the year only obtained a small bursary at the foot of the list, while the men who won the two highest bursaries in this particular examination took afterwards no pre-eminent position, even in Latin, in the University. With his hopes dashed by this misfortune, he was still further depressed by his uncle's death, which occurred at this juncture, making his prospects uncertain and gloomy. However, he passed the entrance examination at Marischal

College, and his friends used their influence to secure a presentation bursary for him.

At the funeral of Theodore Allan he met their old friend, Mr. Campbell, the Minister of Coull, who had driven thirty miles to pay a last tribute of love and respect to the dead. With this clergyman he had a long and serious conversation ; and he was advised not to wait for a bursary at Marischal, but to enter King's at once, where Mr. Campbell could assist him. As there appeared small hope of a bursary at the former, this conversation decided him, though the change in his plans was not pleasing to his relatives, some of whom tried to dissuade him from carrying it out. Dr. M'Lean, his mother's cousin, who was a Professor of Marischal, was especially bitter about it. But he persisted in his determination, though not without fears of the propriety of the step. He entered King's College in November 1847, but with a desolating sense of inferiority to many of his fellows, because of his double failure to win a bursary ; he was to leave it as the foremost man of his year, and afterwards to be enrolled in the list of its most distinguished sons.

Photo Valentine and Sons, Dundee.

KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

CHAPTER II

AT KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN

1847–1851

During the last sixty years many changes have taken place in the

> Old University town
> Between the Don and the Dee,
> Looking over the grey sand dunes,
> Looking out on the cold North Sea.

Both King's College and Marischal College have been enlarged and, the latter especially, much beautified, its noble façade giving it at once rare dignity and a uniqueness in architecture, for there is no such other splendour of carved and sculptured granite in existence. The studies of the University are now apportioned between the two—Medicine and Law at Marischal, and Divinity, Arts, and Mathematics at King's; but in 1847 each College, a University in itself, had its own full staff of professors and complete academic equipment. There was a certain rivalry between the Colleges; there was also a rivalry of a somewhat different kind between their respective students, which now and again led to faction fights and riots on a small scale. Of the two, King's was generally esteemed the better as regarded its educational facilities, and it had larger and more numerous bursaries and prizes in its gift. The buildings of King's were finer, with an atmosphere

of old-world romance and charm ; they still justified the panegyric pronounced towards the close of the seventeenth century by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay—"Scotland does not boast of the edifice of any colledge more statlie or bewtiful."

Old Aberdeen, in which the College stood, was really a small University town, drawing nearly its whole life from King's ; earlier it had had a cathedral too, that of St. Machar, reduced in Protestant times to a parish church. The founder of King's was William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, a statesman, a scholar, an educationist, and a great Churchman. Having completed St. Machar's Cathedral by the erection of a noble spire, he determined to establish a University. He moved James IV. to obtain from Pope Alexander VI. in 1494 a Bull sanctioning the foundation, and six years later the College was begun, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin ; but as the King gave it his special patronage and protection, it came to be called King's College. As a University, it was modelled by the Bishop on that of Paris, with its "nations"—the "nations" of King's being Mar, Buchan, Moray, and Angus, the names of districts in his diocese, which included the North of Scotland as well as Aberdeenshire. At the time Bishop Elphinstone was building his college, he was also contemplating the construction of a parish church in Old Aberdeen, so that the cathedral should be left free for the discharge of its proper functions ; but this church was never built. It is highly probable that the young Freshman of King's, Robert Machray, was well acquainted with the story of Bishop Elphinstone, and that it remained in his mind as an inspiration, for he was destined to be just such another ecclesiastical maker and builder, if on somewhat larger

lines. The glory of King's is its tower, a massive structure buttressed nearly to the top, bearing aloft a lantern of arches surmounted by an imperial crown with finial cross. A thing of beauty, it has been the pride and the joy of many generations of graduates and students. One of the Principals of the University, the late Sir William Geddes, a King's man, said he hoped that when death was upon him the Crown Tower would be the last thing his eyes would rest upon—"so dear a sight it was."

There were ninety students in the Freshman ("Bajan" is the Aberdeen word) Class[1] at King's at the opening of the session 1847-48; some were mere lads, others were grown men. Already depressed by his failure to win a bursary, the sheer number of his competitors somewhat daunted Robert, then not seventeen years of age, and at first he had small hope of beating them in the "glorious strife of academic emulation"—a phrase not seldom on his lips in later years. He had little confidence in himself, and did not read very hard. He prepared the work for the next day carefully, but did not make the notes and revisions necessary for distinction. He always liked to do work with others, and at this time he read with several rather idle young fellows, with whom, however, he only associated in College studies. But towards the middle of the session he was beginning to find himself, and to recognise that he had been under a misapprehension as to his powers; he felt, as he measured himself with his rivals, that he might well look forward to a high place in the class.

[1] In those days Aberdeen students went through the University in a solid "Class," each year by itself; but as now they are allowed to select subjects as they choose, the old Class homogeneity has disappeared, and with it to a large extent the use of "Bajan" and similar terms.

The Professors he was under that session were Professor Norman M'Pherson in Greek and Professor Ferguson in Latin, the latter also setting subjects for English Essays. Professor M'Pherson was an advocate by profession, and acted temporarily as Greek Professor for his father, who was too old and infirm for duty. Afterwards he was one of the Professors of Law in Edinburgh University, and Sheriff of Kirkcudbright. He soon came to take an interest in Robert for the lad's own sake, and Mr. Campbell had written to him from Coull to enlist his good offices. Before the close of the session he had obtained a bursary in the gift of Robertson of Foveran for this promising student, whose growing courage was thereby much increased. The money value of the bursary was small; but it had been arranged by the authorities of King's that the smallest bursary should not only pay all fees, but also that some portion of it was to go to the "bursar," as the holder of a bursary is called in Scotland. As soon as Robert understood that he had a good chance of distinction, he put his whole heart into his work, and at the examinations at the end of the session, though he failed in getting a prize, was not far behind. He was first in the order of merit in Latin, and had a place in the order of merit in Greek, while he was complimented for his English Essay. The top man of the class was John Kelman, who had been Dr. Melvin's best pupil at the Grammar School. A circumstance about this examination which encouraged Robert greatly was that his position in the order of merit was above that of the two men who had won the first and second bursaries in the competition in which he himself had failed, as it proved he had been unduly depressed by his want of success.

It was probably during the earlier part of this first session that he took part in what he characterised as a "rather silly adventure." There existed, as has been mentioned, a species of rivalry between King's College and Marischal College. One day his class unexpectedly found itself in the possession of a whole holiday, and the question arose what was to be done with it. Some bright spirit proposed that here was fit opportunity for making a demonstration against Marischal College, and the idea was immediately taken up by some seventy of the students, who in marching order trooped over to the gates of the enemy—a walk of over two miles—and no doubt they made their presence known as offensively as possible. As it happened, the Marischal College men did not come out, so there was no scrimmage, which was perhaps as well, for the police had got wind of the affair and were taking notes of the proceedings. The King's men, Robert amongst them, cheered vociferously again and again, but as no response was made, they tired after a time of this way of expressing their feelings, and returned quietly to their own grounds.

Up to this point nothing has been heard in Robert's education of Mathematics, the subject, or series of subjects, in which he was afterwards to do so well. He had been taught Arithmetic at school, but it was not until the summer of 1848 that he began the Definitions of Euclid and the adding of $a+b$. At that time he entered the First Mathematical Class of the Rev. R. A. Gray at the Aberdeen Mathematical School; there were some fifty undergraduates in the class, mostly from Marischal College, but about a dozen from King's. By way of getting up his Euclid thoroughly, he used to get his mother to hear him

go over the propositions. Mr. Mills, the former Lumphanan schoolmaster, was again of service to him, for he frequently went to Mr. Mills's house, in which there was a large blackboard, and with its aid the two did their geometrical work together. One of those with whom he read a good deal was a Mr. Walter Stronach; at first Stronach was ahead, but Robert soon overtook him, doing nearly all the solutions and having to explain them to his companion.

It was also at this time that the lad made the acquaintance of a fellow-student at King's with whom he formed a great friendship, which was to endure for many years and be rich in results—this was John M'Lean, afterwards Bishop of Saskatchewan, one of the first dioceses to be carved out of Rupert's Land. Besides attending lectures at the University, of which he was a high bursar, having taken a good position in both Latin and Greek, M'Lean acted as chemist-assistant to Dr. Balfour, an Aberdeen physician. M'Lean was also a friend of Stronach, and the three had long walks and talks together. Before the public examination of the Mathematical School there was an election of one of the pupils for a Good Behaviour Prize given by the City, the decision being left to the pupils themselves. Mills proposed Robert, and many students, chiefly from Marischal College, as it turned out, whom he did not know at all, supported him. His opponent was a Mr. Alexander Gray, the first bursar of the year at Marischal College, but a man of thirty! Mr. Gray was elected by a majority of three or four votes; he was quite a deserving student, but giving a prize for good behaviour to a man of his years seems more than a trifle absurd.

In the examination Robert was first prizeman, a Mr. Youngson, also from King's, was second, while Mr. Gray came fourth. Before the results were known, the students discussed the two papers which had been set, and Robert rather incautiously mentioned that he had "cleared" one and missed very little of the other; then it occurred to him that he had probably made too sure of success—perhaps the memory of his bursary failures came back to him—and he was afraid that he might not get even a place on the list. So much did this fear prey upon him that he absented himself from the proclamation of the prizemen before the City Council, a circumstance which gave great annoyance to his teacher. Doubtless the whole episode taught him more than one useful lesson. But his position at the head of his class made his Mathematical ability manifest. A high prizeman at Mr. Gray's school was always expected to take a good place in the Mathematical Class in the Second Year at King's, and as Mathematics had for some time occupied the premier position in the view of that College, his name now entered into the calculations of his fellow-students for the big College prizes.

Before leaving Coull for the University, Robert had attended Mr. Campbell's class for preparing communicants, but had not become a communicant. During this session at King's he joined a similar class which had been organised by Dr. M'Intosh, the able and much-loved Minister of the East Parish of Aberdeen, whose wife was a connection of his schoolboy chums, the Pennycuicks. The Doctor gave out at each meeting of his class a printed slip of questions, the answers to which were handed in to him at the next, when comments were made upon them by him. In the

autumn of that year, 1848, Robert received his first Communion, his mother being with him.

At the beginning of the session 1848-49 Robert returned to King's with a fine appetite for work, and a fixed determination to devote himself mainly to Mathematics. Dr. Tulloch, the Professor of Mathematics, was ill, and his place was occupied by Mr. Robertson, the Assistant Professor, for some weeks. There were two large blackboards in the class-room called the Geometric Board and the Algebra Board respectively. Robert had the seat next the former and his friend M'Lean that next the latter, and they were expected to help the weak students over the difficult places in the work being done. Robert had to help, or did help, so frequently that the Professor threatened to move him to another seat. It was a case of the "willing horse," and lazy students probably took advantage of the situation. Nor were they always backward in acknowledging their indebtedness to him, as was shown in one case in a somewhat singular fashion. One day towards the end of the session, an old Highland student, who had been a schoolmaster, invited him and M'Lean to his lodgings, and poured out a glass of whisky for each of the lads as a token of his appreciation of services rendered at the blackboards!

At all events, Robert soon impressed Professor Robertson with his capacity. Once the Professor paid him a compliment in connection with a difficult question which he had offered to solve. Mr. Robertson said that he was quite sure that Mr. Machray could do it, and therefore would not call upon him—he would be glad if any other gentleman in the class would offer himself; and another did, though unsuccessfully in the result, whereupon the Professor did the work himself, and then Robert

found to his mortification that he had misunderstood the problem, and that the compliment was undeserved, though it proved what was thought of his powers. After six weeks, Professor Tulloch, now recovered, took the class himself. Dr. Tulloch was a "character," and addicted to making sallies of a humorous sort, which were looked forward to by the students, to whom they gave much amusement. The Archbishop was fond of quoting two of these jests.

Dr. Tulloch was a Free Churchman, and held in particular contempt the "parish minister," or clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland—this by way of preface to the story. Among the students that session was a young fellow named Henry Wilson, who was inattentive and gave the Professor, then an old man, much trouble; Wilson's father was a parish minister. One day, when Wilson had been more irritating than usual, Dr. Tulloch stopped the work of the class and remarked, with the stutter that was habitual to him, "Many years hence, gentlemen, two of you will meet, perhaps on the banks of the Ganges, and one will say to the other, 'What has become of that Henry Wilson who used to give old Professor Tulloch so much trouble?' And the other will reply (and here Dr. Tulloch's tones were withering), 'Oh, he's become a parish minister!'" Whereupon the class, largely composed of Free Kirkers, shouted with uproarious laughter. There was a saying in Scotland, not without its close parallel in England, that when a boy was fit for nothing else he was to be "made" a parish minister, and that, too, helped the joyous outburst. On another occasion a student, who had reached man's estate and was accustomed to do evangelising work, was getting on very badly at the Algebra Board, and kept looking

at some notes he held in his hand. The thing was so marked that Dr. Tulloch lost all patience with him, and cried out, "Francisce Rae, Francisce Rae, I think I have heard of your preaching without a paper!"

Two episodes which belong to this session throw a curious side-light on the life of a Scottish University at this period. Shortly after Professor Tulloch had resumed his lectures, a great complaint arose from the students of Robert's year that they were having too much work, and they held a meeting with a view to getting less. They had Latin and Greek daily, instead of on alternate days, or Chemistry and Greek, in addition to the prescribed course in Mathematics, the "Regent" or chief subject for the Second Year's men. For the first time there was a choice of either Latin or Chemistry in the Second Year, instead of Chemistry in the Second Year and Latin in the Fourth. All but sixteen chose Latin, M'Lean naturally being amongst the sixteen, as he was already a fully educated chemist. At the meeting of the class petitions were prepared which were signed and sent to Professors Ferguson and Bryce, the Latin and Greek Professors (Bryce had succeeded Norman M'Pherson), asking for a reduction in the amount of work to be done. Bryce consented, but Ferguson only on condition that Professor Tulloch should also do so. Another meeting of the class was summoned, and it was proposed at it to petition Tulloch. A large proportion of the students, however, were Mathematical men, and some of them considered it derogatory to ask for less Mathematics; amongst these were Robert and his friend M'Lean, but on a division they were outvoted by 71 to 18. The dissentients thereupon resolved to send in a counter

petition to the Professor, with the result that the matter was dropped altogether by the majority.

The other affair occurred after the examinations at the end of the session. There had been a good deal of copying, and a number of the students formed an association to put it down. Robert was asked to join it, but he never took part in its proceedings ; a meeting of the class was called, and this he did attend. It was proposed to elect a committee who should request the Professors to put it to the honour of each member of the class if he had observed any copying, and the idea found many supporters. It was opposed by M'Lean and Robert, who also had many supporters. Meanwhile it was agreed by both parties that the motion was not to be persevered with if no one would stand forward to say he had actually seen copying, but one of the students did say he had seen copying. On a division 42 voted for the motion and 42 against it ; the chairman then gave his casting vote in its favour. The petition was sent, and when the Professors accepted the proposal that each man should say on his honour if he had seen copying, Robert found himself in the disagreeable position of having to name a certain student whom he had seen in the act—the painful result being that on the delinquent's acknowledgment of his transgression, he was rusticated for a year.

In the prize list Robert cut no remarkable figure, though advance was shown on the previous year. He was third prizeman in Mathematics and second in the English Essay, but failed to obtain a prize in either Latin or Greek. The session over, he went to Begsley, where in two weeks he mastered all the easy formulae of Plane Analytical Trigonometry. He got hold of

Cagnoli's *Trigonometry* in Latin, and never forgot what Cagnoli said of the Differential Calculus, that it was easy, and of the Integral, "Hic labor, hoc opus est." After a short time he returned to Aberdeen, and arranged with M'Lean, who was now in charge of Dr. Balfour's laboratory, to go to him every morning at seven o'clock and do problems in Trigonometry till eight o'clock ; this involved a walk of a mile and a half. The book they worked from was Hind's *Trigonometry*, which had at the end a great variety of examples ; each morning they did from six to ten of them, trying who would solve them first, Robert generally being the victor, though the two were pretty evenly matched. The friendship between them grew very greatly at this time ; they took frequent walks, sometimes in company with an acquaintance, but usually by themselves.

It was about this time that Robert, now eighteen years of age, took a class in the Sunday School of John Knox Church, the superintendent of which was the Rev. John Massie, and he took his turn in opening and closing the school with extempore prayer, though he did not like it. Mr. Massie assisted him in his studies by lending him some notes of lectures on Moral and Mental Philosophy which he had taken while a student at the University. Owing to Mr. Massie's absence, Robert soon had the whole charge of the school thrown on him, including the examining of it. At this time also he was much exercised as to the choice of a profession. He still was very strongly opposed to entering the ministry of the Church of Scotland. When he discussed his future with Mr. Campbell of Coull, whom he went to see, he said that he only had in view a parish school, though his secret ambition was still to be a clergyman, should the way be opened for him to

take Orders in the Church of England. Mr. Campbell was not quite in favour of his taking a parish school, spoke of it as irksome, and advised him to study elocution ; then he suggested that it would be advantageous for him to become a private tutor in a good family, as his uncle, Theodore Allan, had been, or an assistant in a large public school, where he would see new phases of life ; thereafter, if he continued in the same mind, he might still take a parish school. He said nothing to Mr. Campbell about the Church of England, but it was always in his thoughts.

The third session of his course at King's began in November 1849. He attended the Natural Philosophy or Mixed Mathematical Class, the "Regent" subject for the year 1849-50, under Professor Thomson, the Senior Mathematical Class under Professor Tulloch, and an optional Greek Class under Professor Bryce. There were twelve men in this Greek class, amongst them being M'Lean and Kelman and Cormack—the last-named two had been the winners of the first and second prizes in the examination in which Robert had taken the third prize. Robert devoted himself chiefly to Mathematics. Professor Thomson, in addition to class questions, gave daily two or three optional questions, and Robert solved most of them ; they were very helpful questions, and he often regretted afterwards that he did not keep them. Professor Tulloch also set problems and questions daily outside of the routine work, but, after a few weeks, only about six students were in the habit of doing them, or, in fact, were able to follow the Professor, who had soared into a higher and rarer atmosphere.

In this session the students of King's and Marischal Colleges, burying the hatchet for the time being,

started a joint College magazine, to which Robert contributed several Mathematical questions and solutions under the signature of Rho (ρ); if the other contributions were of a similar character, it must have been a somewhat "strenuous" miscellany. There was a debating society in connection with King's which met once a week in the College on Friday or Saturday evenings, and M'Lean, who was an excellent and ready speaker, with something of the gift of oratory, was a prominent member. Mrs. Machray, Robert's mother, lived at this time in North Broadford, in New Aberdeen, and as the walk from her house to King's in Old Aberdeen was rather long, Robert did not often go to the debating society's meetings, but he made a point of being present when his friend M'Lean was a leader of the fray; yet though he voted for him, he never spoke on these occasions, as the faculty of easy speech had been denied to him—indeed, to the end of his days he was never what might be called a fluent or copious speaker. At these meetings he supported M'Lean's motions—(1) in favour of Protection on Corn; (2) against Oliver Cromwell and Puritanism; (3) in favour of Napoleon Bonaparte; (4) in favour of Mathematics *versus* Classics; (5) against the Union of King's and Marischal Colleges. He attended more frequently the meetings of the Aberdeen Missionary Society, to which he was a subscriber, but he thought its affairs were not well managed, and was much dissatisfied with what went on at the meetings; in the following year (1851) he helped to bring about a change for the better. The usual examinations brought the session to a close (1850). In Senior Mathematics he was third in the prize list, Messrs. Cormack and Kelman being first and second re-

spectively; in Natural Philosophy Kelman was first and he second.

And now there approached the fourth and final session of his Aberdeen University career, 1850-51. King's College had in its gift for its most successful Fourth Year men several large money prizes, the winning of which conferred upon the victors its highest honours. These prizes, such as the Mathematical £60 Prize, the Greek £60 Prize, and others of considerable value, were paid to the fortunate students on graduation, and the goal that rose before the eyes of every "magistrand," as Aberdeen calls a Fourth Year man, was to gain one or more of them, not so much for the actual cash, though that, of course, counted too, as for the distinction achieved. Robert was now nineteen years of age, a tall and thin reed of a young man in physique. He had done well, but had not reached the highest places in his past examinations. The men who had beaten him were older and had read much more, but he had made a far quicker advance proportionately than they.

He resolved to attempt the Mathematical £60 Prize, but his diffidence, partly natural, partly reminiscent of the unforgettable bursary failures, prevented him from having any great expectation of success. The death of Mr. Campbell of Coull, which occurred two weeks after the close of his third session, removed a dear friend and protector and saddened his heart: here was no happy augury. However, he called on Professor Thomson, and asked him for his advice as to the subjects he should take up and the best course to pursue with respect to the big Mathematical Prize, and the advice was readily and cordially given. He discussed the matter with his chum M'Lean, who

encouraged him to persevere; M'Lean himself was not going in for this particular prize, but for the corresponding Greek £60 Prize and the Hutton Prize. During the summer he read the usual summer subjects as well as the special subjects for the prize; but he had also a good deal of other work, as he had agreed to act as tutor to several boys who were preparing to enter the University. With two of these boys, Peter Moir Clark and John Clark, nephews of a leading shipowner of Aberdeen, Mr. Benjamin Moir, he spent two hours every evening in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics; to another boy, Charles Shirres, he gave an hour daily. Besides, he coached two students, one of them a parish schoolmaster, during that summer; his time for his own reading, therefore, was restricted not a little; but as his mother, with whom he lived, had a hard struggle to make ends meet on her small annuity as an advocate's widow, and as her other resources were meagre, the fees he received were very welcome.

Perhaps it was because of the limited time at his disposal, or it may have been from his diffidence, but towards the end of the summer he seriously thought of applying for the vacant parish school of Kinellar, which was about two miles from Begsley; he abandoned the idea, however, on learning that Mr. Massie, who had been superintendent of John Knox Sunday School, was an applicant. Had he obtained the position, there would have been an end of his University career, and his whole life would have been changed.

Even after the session had begun (November 1850) he continued to do tutorial work, though it could not but affect his prospects of winning the big prize. All that session he worked prodigiously. He rose at four

o'clock in the morning, and read the routine College and the special prize subjects till breakfast time ; and thereafter he walked to King's, where lectures began at nine, and went on, with an hour's interval for lunch, till three o'clock. At half-past three he was home in North Broadford, where he dined at once, and read a little. From half-past six till ten at night he was engaged with his pupils ; from ten to twelve he was occupied with his own work. The Regent subject for the Fourth Year men was Moral and Mental Philosophy ; and this had to be prepared for, as had also Chemistry, another subject set for the last year. With the exception of Sundays, on which he rested from his labours, his working day was one of twenty hours ! The strain must have been enormous ; happily, it was somewhat lessened by the walks to and from King's and to and from the residences of his pupils, and by the complete breaks on Sundays, though even on Sundays he took a class in a Sunday School.

The pressure on his competitors may have been equally great, but at any rate his class at King's held a meeting at the beginning of the session and elected a committee, of which Robert was a member, the others including Messrs. Cormack and Kelman, the "favourites," so to speak, for the great prizes, with a view to arranging the hours of work in College on a basis that would be satisfactory to all ; this was done, and the Professors fell in with the schedule that had been drawn up.

Dr. Tulloch showed great kindness to him during this session. There chanced to be a mistake in a Mathematical paper at the beginning of the term, and he noticed it and pointed it out to the Professor, who was much pleased and even went the length of

repeating at a private party what had occurred, adding that Robert Machray had been the only student who had observed the blunder. Tulloch showed his interest in a substantial form by remitting the share of the fee which he received from Robert's bursary. During the session his English Essays were commended, and two of them, one on Newton and the other on the Use of Games, were read aloud in the class. He also did so many of the chief questions in Chemistry that some thought he would be a prizeman in that subject.

At length this fateful session wore to its end, and then first came the examinations for the Hutton Prize, given for General Scholarship, which lasted for four days, or rather evenings, for each day's examination began at two or three o'clock in the afternoon and lasted all the evening. A dinner, consisting of excellent beefsteak with tea, was served to the candidates while the examination was being held. On the first night there was a long piece of Greek to be turned into Latin, with the aid, if required, of a Greek and a Latin dictionary; on the second night, Pure Mathematics; on the third, Natural Philosophy or Mixed Mathematics; and on the fourth, Moral and Mental Philosophy. Robert was first in Classics, Natural Philosophy, and Moral and Mental Philosophy, while he and Cormack divided the honours in Pure Mathematics; they were the only students of the class who went in for this examination. Then followed the examination for the Mathematical £60 Prize, also known as the "Simpson," as was the corresponding Prize in Classics; papers were set on three evenings, one in Mixed Mathematics and two in Pure Mathematics. Robert was first in Mixed Mathematics, and

first in one of the papers in Pure Mathematics, Cormack beating him in the other.

When the results were announced in the Hall of King's by the Principal and the Professors, he was adjudged the Mathematical £60 Prize; and also the Hutton Prize, but had to resign it to Cormack, who was next on the list; and also the Second Prize in Moral and Mental Philosophy, which, too, had to be resigned; and he had a high place in the order of merit in Chemistry. The lad who had twice failed to get even a small entrance bursary by competition, now, after four years of struggle, turned out to be the best man of his year, distancing all his rivals—a remarkable and fine achievement. The Simpson Greek £60 Prize was won by a Mr. Young, who came out ahead of Kelman, who had been first favourite; M'Lean had also gone in for this prize. Much sympathy was felt for Mr. Kelman, who was in all respects a model student and had done very well in his other examinations. Mr. Kelman, afterwards D.D. of his University, became Minister of Free St. John's, Leith; Dr. Kelman, the popular colleague of Dr. Whyte of Free St. George's, Edinburgh, is his son. Mr. Cormack, later, took Orders and joined the staff of a Church of England Clergy Training College. Mr. Young became a minister of the United Presbyterian Church.

Having taken his degree of M.A.—there was no B.A. degree at King's or at any of the Scottish Universities—with so much distinction, he had to face, more seriously than before, the question of his future. What was the next step to be? He was offered, at the close of the session, the charge of a large seminary in England, and was asked to bring a man he knew as his second in command. He considered the offer for

some time, and even mentioned M'Lean, who was willing, for the second position, but the matter came to nothing, as the final terms proved to be very unattractive. M'Lean soon after this accepted an important position in one of the greatest manufacturing firms in London, of which an uncle of his was manager, and the association between him and Robert was temporarily broken. At this time the parish school of Methlic fell vacant, and Robert had a notion of becoming an applicant for it ; there was some correspondence with respect to it, but the position had been already filled by the appointment of that Mr. Alexander Gray who had been elected to the Good Behaviour Prize three years previously. Mr. Gray had distinguished himself at Marischal College by carrying off the Gold Medal, which was the chief prize awarded at that University for General Scholarship. But Robert was not destined to be a Scottish parish schoolmaster.

Consequent on his success, several of the King's Professors urged him to go up to Cambridge, where his mathematical abilities would tell. But Cambridge meant a good deal of money, and where the necessary funds were to come from was a heavy problem. He had now begun to long to go up to the English University, not, as many Aberdeen high prizemen after him, with the idea of getting a Fellowship—he had not confidence enough in himself to think of that—but with the view of entering the ministry of the Church of England, for Cambridge might very well bring about the realisation of that desire of his heart which he had so long cherished in secret. Dr. M'Intosh, Minister of the East Parish Church of Aberdeen, also pressed him to go to Cambridge, and in co-operation

with Professor Thomson and others who had become interested, drew up a plan by which a loan was procured for him from a local Bank, these gentlemen being its guarantors, while he secured them to some extent by insuring his life.

The way thus being open, he spoke of going to Cambridge to Professor Fuller, a Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, who had succeeded Professor Tulloch in the Chair of Mathematics at King's—the old doctor was dead—and Professor Fuller advised him to apply for entrance at St. Peter's. Robert accordingly wrote, with the necessary certificates, to Mr. Porter, a Fellow of St. Peter's, and afterwards a Judge in India. But Mr. Porter replied that he thought Robert would have a better chance at Sidney Sussex College than at Peterhouse, and recommended him to go to Sidney. The result was that through Mr. J. F. M'Lennan, a former competitor for the Mathematical £60 Prize at King's, Aberdeen, but then Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge (later, an advocate of Edinburgh, a sociologist, and a well-known literary man), he was entered at Sidney by the Rev. W. Scott, Mathematical Lecturer. He spent the summer in private study, Professor Thomson kindly helping him by setting papers and examples. He left Aberdeen for the south on Saturday, October 17, and reported himself at Sidney College on Tuesday, October 20, 1851, though he had arrived at Cambridge on the previous day.

CHAPTER III

AT SIDNEY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

1851–1855

Sidney Sussex College, generally known as Sidney College, or, to Cambridge men, simply as "Sidney," intimately connected itself with two periods in the life of Robert Machray, both of them happy and fortunate. One period, the subject of this chapter, covers his undergraduate career, the Tripos in which he "went out," the taking of his degree, and his election to a Fellowship; the other, from 1858 to 1865, extends from the day he was summoned by the College authorities to become Dean of Sidney, a position which he combined with a large amount of clerical work outside his College duties, to the date of his elevation to the episcopate as Bishop of Rupert's Land. He ever had the greatest love for Sidney, knowing how very much he owed to the College—a debt he always acknowledged with affectionate gratitude, for it was there that, to use his own words, "the way was so kindly and providentially opened before me." But though before he had left Aberdeen he had been entered as a "pensioner" or ordinary undergraduate of Sidney, it was not to that College he went when he reached Cambridge on Monday, October 19, 1851; it was to St. Peter's College, and only a mistake as to

dates prevented him, in all probability, from becoming a member of the latter, where, perchance, events might have taken a quite different turn.

Having determined to go up to Cambridge, and well aware that Cambridge meant a comparatively heavy expenditure, his mind was preoccupied with the consideration of ways and means. Out of his £60 prize won at King's he deposited £15 as "caution money" with Sidney, this being the sum which the University of Cambridge exacts, as a kind of general security for College and other fees, from its pensioners. For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with the Cambridge system an explanation may here be interpolated. There were four classes of undergraduates: first, "noblemen" or peers, holding a privileged position by right of birth; second, "fellow-commoners," or students who acquire by purchase certain privileges, such as dining with the Fellows of their College instead of with the other undergraduates; third, "pensioners," or ordinary undergraduates *in statu pupillari*; and fourth, "sizars," who receive certain allowances from their College, on the ground of want of sufficient means, but to whom no stigma on that account is attached.[1]

There are now a great many open Scholarships at every College for students entering the University, but at the time Robert Machray entered it there was only an open Sizarship at St. Peter's College, the value of which was probably about £40. A week before he left for Cambridge, Professor Fuller of King's, Aberdeen, told him of it, and advised him to try for it; the Professor gave him the subjects set for the examination

[1] The relative grades may be judged from the "caution money" exacted—£50 for a nobleman, £25 for a fellow-commoner, £15 for a pensioner, and £10 for a sizar.

for the Sizarship, both Classical and Mathematical, and said it began on Tuesday, October 20. During the week Machray read up the subjects as well as the short time at his disposal permitted, and having made the journey to Cambridge, reached St. Peter's about eleven o'clock on Monday morning.

He went at once to Mr. W. A. Porter, the gentleman mentioned in the preceding chapter, with whom he had been in correspondence, and had a long conversation with him, Mr. J. F. M'Lennan also being present. At length Mr. Porter went over to the rooms of the Tutor of St. Peter's—to return presently with the dispiriting news that the examination for the first day was already half over. However, Machray was forthwith bundled into the room where the examination was being held, and he did what he could of the paper in the time. But in the evening Mr. Cocker, the Tutor, came across to Mr. Porter's quarters, and declared that Machray could not be accepted as a candidate unless entered as an undergraduate of St. Peter's. Mr. Porter thought that in the circumstances this was not advisable, so, after stopping the night at St. Peter's, Machray went on to Sidney.

Thus, as the Archbishop used to say, was he "saved from going to Peterhouse," by the inadvertence of Professor Fuller, who had given the wrong date for the examination ; and thus, also, the question of finance remained unchanged. Having paid the caution money, Machray on entering the University had left out of his Mathematical Prize some £30 in cash, and there was available the loan from the Aberdeen Bank, which gave him another £100 or so. But he found good and appreciative friends in his College.

The history of Sidney has been admirably set forth

by Mr. G. M. Edwards, its Tutor, in a book published in 1899. The College was founded in 1598 by Frances Sidney, wife of the Earl of Sussex, who was for a time the chief rival of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for the favour of Elizabeth ; she herself was a notable woman, and of a notable family; her nephew was the famous Sir Philip Sidney ; her tomb is in Westminster Abbey. The present Visitor of Sidney, the Baron de l'Isle and Dudley, is a descendant of hers. As a college, Sidney has had its ups and downs ; for the last few years it has been prosperous, with a marked increase in the number of its pensioners, but it has never got back to the place it enjoyed within forty years of its foundation : in 1630-1636 it had an average of 150 students, Eton and Westminster men among them ; at present it has upwards of 90. In 1851, when Machray entered, there were 14 freshmen, an unusually large number for that time, being as many as there were in the other three years, taken together, of the undergraduate course.

The first Master or Head of Sidney was Dr. Montagu, brother of an Earl of Manchester, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, and many members of the Montagu family were educated at Sidney. Amongst the distinguished men who have passed through Sidney or been connected with the College are Thomas Fuller, the historian, a genuinely great man, who migrated from Queens' College to Sidney in 1629 ; Seth Ward, the famous Bishop of Salisbury ; and William Wollaston, the author of *Religion of Nature Delineated*, a remarkable work which long enjoyed general popularity. But the chief of Sidney men was, and is, Oliver Cromwell, who became a fellow-commoner in 1616, and of whom the best

portrait in existence hangs in the Master's Lodge to-day. Owing to the death of his father, Cromwell was resident at Sidney only for a year, but no Sidney man ever forgets that the great Lord Protector belonged to his College : it is the crowning glory of Sidney.

The Master of Sidney in 1851 was the Rev. Robert Phelps, D.D., a brother of the once well-known tragedian. Originally a Trinity man, he had gone to Sidney as a lecturer, was made a Fellow and Tutor of the College in 1840, and was elected Master in 1843—a position he held till his death in 1890. The freshmen had little to do with him, and seldom saw him save at chapel, but from the start had a good deal to do with the Tutor, who had general charge of all the work going on in College ; and perhaps also on occasion with the Dean, who was responsible for the discipline of the students within the College walls. The Tutor of Sidney at this time was the Rev. William Towler Kingsley, B.D., at present Rector of South Kelvington, Thirsk. Machray called on Mr. Kingsley, received some general directions as to lectures and College life, and was given a set of rooms on the second floor in Hall Court, that is, the court in which stands the College Hall, a large chamber used for several purposes, the chief of which is the dining together in the evening of the Fellows and the students—the Fellows at the "high table" at one end, and the undergraduates at lower tables in the body of the room. On taking possession of his rooms, Machray, according to custom, accepted at a valuation the furniture of their previous occupant, and at once settled down. Next he sallied into the town and ordered in supplies for breakfasts, luncheons, and teas, which the men have in their own quarters, and other necessary things.

Those first days must have seemed a little strange to him. At Aberdeen students did not reside in College, and there was practically no supervision of them by the University authorities; at Cambridge all students live in College or in rooms outside which have been specially licensed for that purpose, and all are more or less continuously under the vigilant eye of the University. At Aberdeen he had lived at home with his mother; here, he set up for himself, as it were. But he quickly fell in with the new order. The freshmen of his year had a table to themselves when dining in hall, one of the Scholars of a senior year being placed at its head; doubtless at first they looked shyly at one another, and ate their food in silence—Machray the shyest and most silent of them all. Lectures began next day, and to his great dismay Machray soon found himself but poorly prepared for Cambridge by Aberdeen; under Professor Tulloch he had got up only Euclid, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and Geometrical Conic Sections.

He had to begin the most elementary propositions in Algebra. In Mixed Mathematics, however, he was more forward, but had read only what was needed for the "first three days" of the Mathematical Tripos or Final Examination in "Honour Mathematics." At this period Cambridge concentrated her energies mainly on Mathematics; students were not allowed to go in for Honours in Classics unless they previously had taken either Honours in Mathematics or a First Class in the "Poll" or examination for the ordinary degree. To take a First—to be a "Wrangler," as the Cambridge term named it—in the Mathematical Tripos was the great objective at Cambridge, ever held up before her students as the worthiest goal of effort and ambition.

The Tripos was spread over a week or two, divided into the "first three days" and, after an interval, the "last five days," the subjects for the latter being more difficult than those for the former.

From his first term each student in Mathematics read and worked with a single eye to excelling in the Tripos; the College lectures were framed generally with this end in view; promising students, who could afford it, retained the services of a private tutor or "coach." Machray had no coach to help him, but Mr. Kingsley gave him some private lessons, and he worked hard all the time—with such good result that he was placed first in the First Class in Mathematics for his year in the College Christmas examinations, and to his equal surprise and delight was elected a Foundation Scholar, a distinction not usually conferred on a freshman till after the examinations at the close of the first year's course in May. He was sworn in as Scholar on Lady Sidney's Day, December 17, 1851. On the evening of the same day there was a great dinner in Hall, and each undergraduate was presented with a pint bottle of sherry wherewith to celebrate the occasion; every man in College drank the health of the new Scholar. After dinner the men repaired to the rooms of one of the seniors where dessert and wine were laid out, and there was much rejoicing of a somewhat boyish and rather rowdy description, in the midst of which the leg of a chair was driven through the ceiling.

The new Scholar evidently was popular, though, from the narrowness of his means, he was not able to go in for those things which in College life make for popularity. From the beginning he resolutely set himself against all unnecessary expenses, denying himself beer and extras from the kitchens. On Sundays and

Holy Days pudding was put on the table as part of the fare, but on other days it had to be "sized for," that is, being interpreted, it had to be ordered and paid for as an extra; there was a rule of the same kind with respect to soup. He also declined becoming a member of the College Boat Club, Cricket Club, and Football Club; when asked to join them he simply stated that he would very gladly be a member if he could afford it, but being forced to economise in every way, it was out of the question. The refusals were taken in good part, and he never saw any sign of having incurred odium for this cause, nor was ever any practical joke played on him because of it. As will be seen a little farther on, it rather counted for than against him; he remained on the best of terms with all the men.

He spent that Christmas Vacation in College: he was a poor traveller, and Aberdeen was a long way off. The only other undergraduates in residence were the "Questionists," or men preparing for the Tripos in January; he sat with them at table, and they kindly invited him to join them at wine after dinner. The first evening of this intercourse saw an amusing incident. Machray was offered a cigar; he said he did not smoke, and confessed that he did not know one end of a cigar from the other, whereupon it was cut for him. Not liking to refuse it, he solemnly proceeded to light it—but at the wrong end, and there was a great shout of laughter. He was offered another cigar, but meanwhile he had got back the power of saying No, and declined it. This was his only attempt upon tobacco in any form. For many years he had not a good word to say about smoking; but in later life he wrote that he had come to the "conclusion

that while tobacco seems very harmful for boys and lads under twenty-one, yet after that age it appears to do no injury unless taken in great excess, and evidently affords much pleasure and solace." Perhaps the example and influence of his friend and neighbour, Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, who was a determined and inveterate cigar-smoker, had something to do with this change of opinion.

When the men returned to Sidney after the Christmas Vacation, Mr. Kingsley placed him, as Scholar, at the head of the freshmen's table, which he was supposed to keep in order, according to the immemorial traditions of the place. Amongst these traditions was the custom of fining men cider or other cups for all sorts of trivial offences, such as speaking two words in an unknown tongue, which meant every language save English, quoting Scripture, talking "shop" (speaking of College work), making a pun, and the like. The men of his table wished greater liberty, and told him so—there was something like a strike against his authority. Sympathising with them rather than otherwise, he consulted Mr. Kingsley on this momentous question. The Tutor very sensibly replied that if the men agreed unanimously to have such fines, they might be continued; but if any student objected, he could not, as Tutor, support the Scholar in imposing them. On the other hand, if the Scholar fined a man for swearing or ungentlemanly behaviour, the College would uphold his decision. Machray reported the Tutor's words to his fellow-undergraduates, and it was immediately resolved that all the fines for trivial matters should be abolished for ever. His table probably got on quite well enough without them, for he had won the respect as well as the liking of the men.

Photo Hills and Saunders, Cambridge.

HALL COURT, SIDNEY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

His chief companions were naturally men of his year, and he was particularly friendly with Alfred Whitlow and William Banham, both of whom became clergymen eventually. The only man he knew outside Sidney was M'Lennan of Trinity; but their views on most subjects were entirely different, and they did not see much of each other.

Towards the end of the College year Machray suffered a great deal of anxiety with regard to his finances. The Foundation Scholarship, to which he had been elected at Christmas, was worth only one shilling a day while its holder was actually in residence in the College; if he resided every day of the year, it was worth about £18, and at the most he resided not quite half a year in all. So this Scholarship helped him very little. And meanwhile the drain on his slender resources had been constant, and by May of that year the fear grew upon him that they would be insufficient. He had much correspondence with Dr. M'Intosh about funds, which was of a very harrowing nature. Dr. M'Intosh was always kind in his letters, and full of praises of what Machray was doing, but he left him in his difficulties. However, the May Exams. came on, and were passed successfully before the financial crisis became too acute.

In these examinations he took the First Mathematical Prize in his own year, and the Second Classical Prize competed for by men of his and of the second year. He was First in Divinity for the whole College, and was bracketed First for the Latin Theme with Edward Gilbert Highton. Mr. Highton, who subsequently became a barrister, for many years coached the Westminster scholars for their yearly Play—till Dr. Rutherford, Head Master after Dr. Scott, suddenly

and rather discourteously dispensed with his services, saying he did not think it becoming for Westminster boys to be trained for their Play by a Marlborough man! Consequent upon the examinations, Machray and his friend Whitlow were elected Taylor[1] Exhibitioners. This gave him £60 a year, in addition to the sum received from his Scholarship, and, at any rate for the time being, lessened his fears of a financial collapse. By this time he had completely won the friendship and confidence of Mr. Kingsley, the Tutor, who spoke encouragingly of his ultimate success. Mr. Kingsley went farther, for he gave Machray a private tutor or coach for the ensuing Long Vacation, Mr. Scott of Sidney, which was equivalent to a present of £15. He spent the last six weeks of the "Long" in Aberdeen, and then arranged for the extension of the loan from the local Bank, the amount being increased from £100 to £130. Thus he was able to continue his undergraduate career at Cambridge; but for at least another year his financial position was little short of desperate.

Having made such provision as was possible, he entered on his second year at Sidney in October 1852. The entry of freshmen to the College in that October was about the same as in the preceding year; amongst them was a student who afterwards became one of his greatest friends, John Clough Williams-Ellis,[2] but at first their acquaintance was slight. In addition to work for the Mathematical Tripos, he began to read for the Classical Tripos by the advice of Mr. John Roberts of Magdalene College, who lectured in Classics at

[1] These exhibitions were founded by Samuel Taylor of Dudley, a graduate of Sidney, in 1732, by a valuable bequest to the College of certain lands and houses.

[2] Third Wrangler, 1856; Fellow and Tutor of Sidney, 1859-76; Vicar of Madingley, 1865-76; Rector of Gayton, Northamptonshire, 1876-89.

Sidney; but after a couple of terms, finding that he could make no progress in verse composition by himself—he could not afford a classical "coach"—he abandoned the attempt, as did his friend Alfred Whitlow. Whitlow had also been persuaded to read for the Classical Tripos by Mr. Roberts at the same time as Machray, and the two young men got up their work together. One result of their friendship was the formation of the "Dudleian Society" in Sidney.

While in Aberdeen Machray had heard from Whitlow that he had been very ill, and that he had had serious thoughts about religion. Previous to this Machray had agreed in the "Long" to join two of his fellow-undergraduates, William Banham and George Bulstrode, in writing sermons; but Bulstrode that term migrated to Emmanuel College and dropped out. Machray and Whitlow now joined Banham, and with one or two other students of a religious turn of mind began the "Dudleian," which lasted in Sidney for something like twenty years. They met in each other's rooms every Sunday evening after Evening Service in the churches of the town was over, and one of them preached a sermon which he had composed, while the others made notes upon it and criticised it with great freedom.

During this October Term Machray made another warm friend in Elmitt Browne, the present Vicar of St. Jude's, Kingston-on-Hull, in the diocese of York; it was Browne's first term, and his rooms were next Machray's, and the two were much together. Before going down for the Christmas Vacation, Browne asked Machray to accompany him on a small expedition which provided them with a good deal of amusement. Browne had received his bill for the term from Mr.

Kingsley, the Tutor, and not understanding some of its items, particularly the charges for the quarter before he had come into residence in the College, had asked Mr. Kingsley for an explanation. The Tutor told him that the bill was a complicated affair, and that his best course was to go to the College Buttery and interview the official in charge of it, who would be able to give him the information he desired.

Browne invited Machray to go with him to the Buttery, where they saw the official, who was politely requested by Browne to say why such and such items appeared on his bill for the quarter before he had put in an appearance at Sidney—when, in point of fact, he had never been near Cambridge at all. "Oh," replied the official, with an air of urbane inquiry, "but was not your name, sir, on the 'College Boards'?" Browne admitted that this was the case, for he had been entered as an undergraduate on the Boards or books of Sidney at the beginning of the quarter in question. "Then," said the man tranquilly but triumphantly, "that's it. You see, sir, as soon as a gentleman has his name on the Boards he begins to accumulate expenses." That settled the matter. Browne, however, thirsted for more information, and next looked over a long page in the bill for the October Term, with fourpence down daily for the "butler." Pointing to the page Browne asked, "Who is the butler?" He had been unaware of the services rendered him by the butler. The official made him a magnificent bow and said simply, "*I* am the butler, sir!" And Browne said no more. The bill had to be accepted in its entirety and paid, and there was an end of it!

With the exception of a few days passed in London

with John M'Lean, his King's College comrade, he spent the Christmas Vacation in College, going on with his work. These days were saddened by the death of Dr. M'Intosh of Aberdeen, a noble-hearted man, deeply deplored by many whom he had silently helped in their difficulties. His death, too, had a prejudicial effect on Machray's financial position, and he heard from Aberdeen that he must look for no further assistance from that quarter. His situation was now very difficult. Without more funds than were at his command he could not go on. He pondered and seriously considered the outlook, and finally came to a wise conclusion, which was to lay the whole matter before Mr. Kingsley, the Tutor. Mr. Kingsley had already shown himself friendly, and knew that Machray was doing good work and shaping well for the Tripos. At Christmas he had been First in the College examinations in Mathematics, and had taken First Classes in the "Little Go," as the University examination previous to the Tripos is popularly called. When Machray told the Tutor how he stood, he found him most sympathetic and helpful. Mr. Kingsley begged him not to distress himself, as the means would be provided in one way or another. The Tutor began by remitting the whole of Machray's College fees, and then obtained a grant of £20 a year for him from the Clergy Education Society of Cambridge, which was continued until he graduated. He promised that if Machray's position in the following May examinations warranted it he would see that the College would recognise it in a substantial manner; and as the position did warrant it, the College came forward handsomely.

In these examinations Machray was First in Mathematics in his year, First in Divinity for the whole

College, and First Class in Classics in his year. The College added a gratuity of £30 to his Taylor Exhibition of £60, and made him Micklethwaite Scholar. Counting in the value of the fees remitted, the College now gave him about £150 a year, which, with the grant of £20 mentioned above, made up an income of some £170. His difficulties, therefore, were over, though he still had to practise the greatest economy; nor was his income sufficiently large to enable him to read with a coach—that would have been £30 or £40 additional expense yearly—though the assistance of a coach was well-nigh indispensable to a student at Cambridge who wished to be a high Wrangler.

Machray's appearance at this period of his life is thus described by Mr. J. C. Williams-Ellis (see p. 48):

My first clear recollection of seeing the future great Archbishop of Rupert's Land, and my dearest friend for half a century, was curious and has indelibly imprinted itself on my mind. It took place in this wise. I went up as a freshman to Sidney Sussex College in 1852. The College was very small in numbers, but, strangely enough, amongst its undergraduates were the Captain of the 'Varsity boat, Edward Hawley, and the Stroke, William Simson Longmore, the former being President and the latter Treasurer of the C.U.B.C. (Cambridge University Boat Club). By their energy Sidney rose in ten successive boat races from the twentieth to the tenth place on the river, although there was a joke among boating men that we had only

> Eight men to row and one to steer,
> One to start, and one to cheer.[1]

Well, there happened to be a great flood in the Cam—so great that the whole of Midsummer Common was one big lake—and

[1] A variant of the second line is—

"And one to run on the bank and cheer."

it was decided to row the College Fours on the common instead of on the river. Hawley managed to get together four four-oars, but when we were ready it was found that one of the boats had no coxswain. Whether the coxswain had fallen out or how it happened I do not now remember, but Hawley was equal to the occasion. He had noticed a very tall, thin figure in college cap and gown viewing the proceedings near Jesus College—this was Machray. How Hawley persuaded him to take his place as coxswain I do not know, but he did, though Machray had probably never been in a boat before. The sight of that tall, thin figure in full academical costume steering a racing four was overpowering! Had the boats been like the present outriggers, we must all have been upset by laughing.

Machray did not belong to the College Boat Club, not from any want of sociability, but because his means were limited, though the numerous scholarships and exhibitions he won enabled him to pay all his College expenses. With another man this, at that time, would have been a fatal bar in the estimation of his fellow-undergraduates. But in spite of this Machray was liked and respected by all. Owing to his not joining in any of our games, I knew but little of him as a student. Athletic sports had no charms for him. After he became Dean of Sidney, and I conversed with him about cricket, football, fives, or tennis, he used to speak of them all indifferently as "playing ball"!

In the same year, 1852-53, of which Mr. Williams-Ellis speaks, Machray had a pleasant evidence that his abstention from joining the Boat Club had created no feeling against him. The men were divided into two cliques, and there were two Boat Clubs, the Sidney and the Dudley; it became realised that the College was far too small to support two clubs of the same kind, and it was resolved to hold a general meeting of the two clubs to try to form a union between them. The question was, Who was to preside? Machray was

the only man who was a member of neither. At first it was proposed that a Fellow should be asked to preside over the gathering, but on Machray's name being mentioned it was immediately decided that he should be chairman. A deputation waited on him, and he consented to act, which he did to the satisfaction of all concerned. This was the only occasion on which he was ever present at a Boat Club meeting. After he became a Fellow he joined all the College Clubs, but he never attended any of their meetings.

Also in this year he was confirmed, becoming definitely a member of the Church of England. Before he had left Aberdeen for Cambridge, he had sometimes gone to Service in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and made no secret of his intention of ceasing to be a Presbyterian; he had told his mother of his desire to become a clergyman of the Anglican Church. Before going down at Christmas 1852, he had had a conversation with the Rev. George Maddison, afterwards Archdeacon Maddison, Vicar of All Saints', the parish in which Sidney is included, and whose church he regularly attended, regarding Confirmation. Early in the following year Mr. Maddison arranged for his being presented to the Bishop of Ely by the Rev. Mr. Selwyn, a county Incumbent, for the rite, and in due time he was confirmed by the Bishop in Mr. Selwyn's church.

The College year 1853-54 passed by unmarked by any outstanding incident except one, which was somewhat remarkable in the light of later events. Some time during this period he was present at a missionary meeting—the only meeting of the kind he took any part in while an undergraduate—held in the rooms of Mr. Nicholson, a Fellow of Emmanuel

College, when an address was given by Archdeacon Hunter of Rupert's Land. Up to that time he must have had the dimmest of notions as to what was meant by Rupert's Land, and certainly never dreamt how much it was to mean to him in the future. Both at the Christmas and May examinations he took the highest place in Mathematics, and great expectations were formed of the position he would gain in the Tripos; he also took Firsts in Divinity and in the English Essay; he no longer went in for Classics, most of his time now being occupied with reading for the Tripos. He continued to be a leading member of the Dudleian Society, which had grown very much.

His acquaintance in the University had by this time greatly increased, amongst his friends being Maxwell, afterwards so distinguished as Professor Maxwell, Fellow of Trinity; and Mr. P. Mason, Head Master of the Cambridge Grammar School, who had been a Second Wrangler; as well as Mr. Mason's son, a distinguished Hebrew scholar, the Rev. Peter Mason, Fellow and President of St. John's College. During the "Long" of 1854 he went to Scotland for six weeks, and then returned to Cambridge to read for the Tripos with Mr. Scott, the Mathematical Lecturer of Sidney, and to revise old work. The Tripos was now only six months away, and he read very hard. During the October Term 1854 he worked incessantly—far too much indeed, for he wore himself out, and suffered greatly from insomnia, which was largely induced by strain; for long after the Tripos he was able to get but little sleep. His chief fear was that he would disappoint the expectations that had been formed of him.

The Tripos came off in January 1855, and when

the results were published Machray was 34th Wrangler and his friend Whitlow 42nd in a very large year ; as it had been confidently anticipated that he would be a high Wrangler, his comparatively low position in the First Class was considered the greatest failure of the Tripos. But he himself had not looked for such marked success as others had prophesied from his appearance in the College examinations, which had always been excellent. He had done a large amount of book-work, but in many branches of Mathematics he had had to begin at the very beginning at Cambridge ; the Aberdeen Mathematical prizemen who followed him came up with much better training for the Triposes. When he was a Fellow he entertained no fewer than three Aberdeen men on one St. Andrew's Day at breakfast or wine who had been Senior Wranglers within five years—Mr. Slesser of Queens' ; Mr. Stirling of Trinity, afterwards Lord Justice of Appeal ; and Mr. Barker of Trinity, afterwards Professor in a Midland University.

Another reason for his comparative failure was that he had to give too special attention to the College work, as it was necessary for him to secure as much financial assistance as he possibly could. But the worst was that he had little time for Problems, particularly in the higher subjects. Perhaps it was because he was worn out, but in this final examination he lost places by some twelve misapprehensions of the questions set, though he was generally very accurate in his work. His inability to afford a coach also told against him. Yet his place in the Tripos was not in itself a bad one ; it was exactly the same place that Mr. Kingsley himself had occupied in his Tripos. Notwithstanding the fact that he had disappointed the

College authorities, he was shown great kindness by Mr. Kingsley, who, learning that he was much run down, insisted on sending him a dozen of port.

Having "proceeded" to his degree of B.A., he heard from Mr. Kingsley that a vacant Foundation Fellowship and a Blundell Fellowship were to be filled early in the following May by competitive examination, and Mr. Kingsley gave him the subjects for it, saying at the same time that he had hoped Machray's place in the Tripos would have set his election to a Fellowship beyond peradventure. The subjects were Mathematics, the *Aeneid*, the *Ethics* and *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, portions of Genesis and the Psalms in Hebrew, and the writing of a Latin Theme, and though he was not sanguine of success, he prepared for the examination as if he were. He also began reading for the Moral Science Tripos with Whitlow; but having applied for a tutorship which he saw advertised, and having got it, he left Cambridge and dropped the Tripos. It was a happy home to which he went—that of the Rev. Samuel Adams, Vicar of Bagworth with Thornton in Leicestershire; two sons of Mr. Adams and two other boys were his pupils, but as their lessons occupied only four hours each day, there was plenty of time left for reading up the Fellowship subjects.

That examination soon came round. There was but one other competitor for the Foundation Fellowship, a gentleman, as it chanced, who was not a Sidney man. The examination was, with the exception of the Latin Theme, nearly all *viva voce*, and now in much better health, he did himself greater justice than in the Tripos, and was elected Fellow. After he was "admitted" to the Fellowship, he was taken by

Mr. Kingsley to St. Catharine's College Lodge to see its Master, Dr. Philpot, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, and either then or about to be Bishop of Worcester. Machray was introduced, and signed his name in a book. In the evening, at dinner in hall, he took his place at the Fellows' table, and felt very happy. The way before him was straight enough now, for a Fellowship gave a "title" for Orders which any Bishop would accept. Next day he returned to Thornton Vicarage, where he was cordially welcomed and congratulated, and there he spent with his pupils the greater part of the summer of 1855, preparing at the same time for Ordination.

CHAPTER IV

ORDINATION AND TRAVEL

1855–1858

While Machray was at Thornton, he was asked by an Aberdeen friend, Mr. A. P. Fletcher, to take a similar position with respect to the two sons, Cuthbert[1] and Edgar, of Mr. John Wingfield Larking, of Milton Place, Egham, Surrey ; to this he agreed on the completion of his engagement, and after midsummer he went to Egham, where he was made welcome by Mr. and Mrs. Larking, who from the first treated him as a member of their family. Meanwhile the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Turton, had stated that he would accept his Fellowship of Sidney as title for Orders, on passing the usual examinations for Fellows ; the examinations then required were of a somewhat perfunctory and formal kind, but to prepare himself more thoroughly for his clerical life Machray read for the regular examinations for Deacon's Orders. In the late autumn the examinations were held in Jesus Lodge, Cambridge, the Master of Jesus College, Dr. Corrie, being the Examining Chaplain for the Bishop of Ely. Bishop Turton was at this time getting old ; he was naturally a frail and fragile man ; he had been a Senior Wrangler, and was a distinguished ecclesiastic

[1] Colonel Larking, A.D.C. to the King.

as well as controversial writer of note, but his well-known love of the fine arts and music seemed more in keeping with the delicacy of his appearance. Much of the management of his diocese had been placed by him in the hands of Dr. Corrie, then no longer young.

Dr. Corrie lived to a great age, and figured in many Cambridge stories. As a matter of course, speculation was rife in his later years as to his successor in the Mastership of Jesus, and, equally as a matter of course, he could not but be aware of it. Meeting a Fellow of his College one day, he is reported to have said to him, "Mr. ——, I understand you hope to be my successor in the Mastership. I think it is only kind to tell you that I have already outlived five of my successors." Dr. Corrie is said to have been the real author of a biting jest which is often credited to others: "Do you wish to make a fortune? Then buy Mr. —— at your price and sell him at his." He was a confirmed bachelor and a strong Tory, and one of his favourite observations was that there "never was any mischief in the world but a Whig or a woman was at the bottom of it."

Ordinations in the middle of last century were conducted in a very different manner from that which now prevails in the Church of England. Candidates for Orders saw very little of the Bishop, and most of the necessary communications that passed with reference to Ordination were made to and by the Examining Chaplain. In the case of the Diocese of Ely, Dr. Corrie, the Examining Chaplain, resided at Cambridge, which is some thirteen miles from Ely. The examinations were held in his house, the Lodge of Jesus College, on the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before the Ordination; at ten o'clock on Satur-

day morning the examinees attended at the Lodge to hear the result, when they listened to Dr. Corrie's invariable statement: "Gentlemen, I am *more or less* satisfied with you all. The Bishop will be glad to see you at two o'clock; you will find that the train leaving Cambridge at ten minutes past one will bring you to Ely in good time."

Among those who had satisfied Dr. Corrie more or less was Robert Machray, who went to the Palace in Ely at the appointed hour and was introduced to Dr. Turton. All he saw of the Bishop was that when a few austere preliminaries were gone through, Dr. Turton observed to him and the other young men, "Gentlemen, we dine at such and such an hour"! And a very excellent dinner the Bishop gave them, but made no attempt to get an idea of their thoughts or characters —perhaps because there were too many of them. It was on Sunday, November 11, 1855, that Machray was ordained Deacon in Ely Cathedral, together with fifteen others, all of whom, with one exception, were Cambridge men; at the same Ordination fifteen men were admitted to the Priesthood. Dr. Turton, had he desired it, could not have got to know at all well so many men in so short a time.

Machray returned immediately to Egham, where, on December 2, he performed his first duty as a clergyman. There were special services and a collection for a new church at Englefield Green both morning and evening in Egham Parish Church, and Dr. Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, preached at both services. In the morning Machray robed and assisted at the Holy Communion, following the Bishop with the Cup. The Vicar of Egham, Dr. Monsell, and his Curate, the Rev. C. J. Waterhouse, also took part. On Machray,

then specially open and sensitive as a newly ordained clergyman, the Bishop made a deep impression, so that he admired him greatly. Dr. Wilberforce's text in the morning was, "Owe no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law" (Rom. xiii. 8). Machray never forgot the eloquence with which the Bishop pointed out the danger of a merely negative religion—that it could not be for such that the Son of God died. To his regret, circumstances arose which prevented him from being present at the evening service.

Two weeks later Dr. Monsell informed him that Dr. Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester, in which diocese Egham lies, had given him, on Dr. Monsell's solicitation, full liberty to preach and otherwise officiate as a Deacon in the diocese. From this time he took a considerable share in the Services in Egham Church. On December 30 he preached his first sermon, taking as his subject Heb. i. 10-12: "And Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of Thine hands: they shall perish; but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail." On the last day of the year he received an invitation to a ball given by Lady Bower Smith, which he declined, having resolved as a clergyman to abstain from dancing; not that he saw any harm in it, but he thought it was inexpedient for a clergyman to attend balls and dances unless for some special reason. When Bishop of Rupert's Land he was present for a short time at a ball in Government House, Winnipeg, given by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in honour of a

Governor-General of Canada, being desirous of showing particular respect to both host and guest on that occasion.

At Egham he undertook some further clerical work, besides assisting constantly in the Morning Service. The Vicar had on his hands a little chapel which stood in a small hamlet at the bottom of the lawn of Milton Place, and Machray offered to take charge of it for him ; an arrangement was accordingly made by which he held Services there every Sunday afternoon, and visited the families of the people so long as the Larkings remained at Milton Place, which was about a year longer. This, then, may be said to have been his first charge, and it gave him an insight into parochial work. In the autumn (1856) he went to Cambridge and passed the examination for Priest's Orders held by Dr. Corrie for Dr. Turton, and was duly ordained priest by that Bishop at Ely.

Shortly after being "priested" Machray had some communication with James Pennycuick, and it was almost arranged for them to pay a visit to the old scenes of their boyhood in Aberdeenshire, when, on the Mutiny breaking out, Pennycuick was ordered to India, and the project was abandoned. A week or two later, Mr. Larking, who had been Consul at Alexandria and was now Agent for Said Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, and had some business for him which called him to the East, determined to give up Milton Place, and arranged that meanwhile his family should reside in Italy ; he asked Machray to accompany them, and Machray agreed to do so. They travelled through France to Marseilles, from which they set sail in the midst of a storm for Civita Vecchia —an extremely unpleasant experience to Machray, who was a very bad sailor. The weather continued

stormy and he suffered intensely ; nor was the voyage made any more agreeable by the steamer, when near the island of Elba, grazing something which shook her so much that he thought it must be a rock, and that all must perish. The captain, however, assured him that it "was a sandbank that had been struck, for had it been a rock the ship must certainly have foundered." Civita Vecchia was at length reached in safety, and thence they journeyed to Rome, in which they found themselves on the last night of the year, 1856.

The Larking family settled in a house on the Tiber in the Via Babuino, and soon were surrounded by many of their friends who were spending the winter season in Rome, amongst them being Lady Marian Alford, with Lord Brownlow and his brother, and the Countess of Northesk and her son. The tutor of Lord Brownlow, a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, called on Machray, and they went about together seeing some of the sights of the Eternal City. He also made the acquaintance of Mr. Woodward, the Chaplain of the English Church outside the city, and attended the Services held there, preaching now and again in the morning. In the afternoon on Sundays he went to the Prussian Embassy, in the chapel of which there was an English Service, the officiating clergyman being Dr. Forbes, Incumbent of St. George's, Douglas, Isle of Man, who was putting in the winter at Rome on account of his health. Machray made himself known to Dr. Forbes, and thus began a friendship which lasted for many years. Through Dr. Forbes he made a number of acquaintances which added very greatly to the pleasure and interest of his residence in Rome. He made several expeditions with Dr. Forbes, and was frequently present at evening parties given by

him and Mrs. Forbes which generally were closed with family prayers—by a reading from Scripture and an extempore prayer which Machray usually took.

In 1857 Italy was not the kingdom of Italy as it is known to-day; the Papal States still existed, and Rome, though garrisoned by French soldiers, was still the seat of a Pope who claimed and exercised temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty. Machray was asked to go to the Vatican with some of the Larkings, for whom an interview with the Pope, Pius IX., had been arranged; but deeming it in his position as an English Churchman rather improper, he begged to be excused. He attended, however, with Dr. Forbes, a reception given one evening by the Austrian Ambassador to celebrate the conferring of a Cardinal's hat on an Austrian Bishop. Dr. Forbes and he had their names announced from servant to servant as they slowly mounted the great staircase of the Embassy, at the top of which stood the Cardinal waiting to receive the congratulations of the guests. Machray wondered what he should say and in what language he should speak when he met the Cardinal, and, foreseeing some difficulty, was inclined to regret having gone to the function at all, when he was relieved from his embarrassment by the opportune arrival upon the scene of the Comte de Montreal and the officers of the French garrison; instantly there was a great commotion and bustle, under cover of which they got off with a bow to the Cardinal, and then they passed on into the drawing-room, where the wife of the Ambassador greeted them. It was a brilliant and animated affair, with a commingling of many nationalities, a babel of tongues, and the splendour of a diversity of uniforms, orders, and decorations. He

and his friend amused themselves by trying to pick out their fellow-countrymen, laughingly saying they could infallibly distinguish them by their awkwardness.

On another occasion they obtained admission to the Sistine Chapel for the purpose of hearing the beautiful music for which it is world-famous. On the way up to it Dr. Forbes was stopped, as he was not in full evening dress; but he showed himself equal to the emergency, for going back, he got some one to turn up the coat-tails of his clerical surtout so as to make it look like a dress-coat, and returning presented himself again and was immediately passed through! Machray was also present at the ceremony known as the "Sacra Tavola"—the washing of the feet of pilgrims by the Pope; he had a front seat, and by his great height (6 feet 3 inches) caught the attention of the spectators who sat behind him. He thought the scene rather absurd. A dignitary merely passed a dish ceremoniously to the Pope, and Pio Nono passed it on in his turn to the pilgrims—a very different thing from the washing of feet recorded in the Gospels.

An unfortunate controversy broke out during his stay in Rome between Dr. Forbes, who held Services in the chapel of the Prussian Embassy, and Mr. Woodward, the regular chaplain of the old English congregation. Mr. Woodward declined to acknowledge the episcopal authority over him of the Bishop of Gibraltar, who at that time acted as Bishop of the Church of England in Continental Europe; the Bishop thereupon recognised Dr. Forbes as the representative of the Church of England in Rome—a proceeding which was naturally much resented by Mr. Woodward and caused ill-feeling. Woodward was a High Churchman, and Machray was an Evangelical,

and though the latter preached for the former, they did not take to each other. Once when Machray was preaching for Woodward, and they were in the vestry robing, Woodward looked through a slit which gave a view of the interior of the church, and his eyes rested on Dr. Forbes; he remarked on his presence there, and asked if Machray knew him, who said that he knew him very well. Woodward then observed that Forbes had probably come to hear him (Machray) preach, and nothing more was said at the moment, but shortly afterwards he wrote a violent letter to Machray, denouncing Dr. Forbes and any one taking part with him as weakening the Church of England in Rome.

Prior to this letter it had been arranged that Machray was to assist Woodward in some Services; on receipt of it, he replied that Dr. Forbes was a personal friend, and that, taking all the circumstances into account, it was advisable that the arrangements, so far as he was concerned, for the coming Services should be cancelled. Dr. Monsell, the Vicar of Egham, arrived in Rome about this time on a holiday, and Machray put the whole matter before him, but without receiving any advice as to the course to be pursued. This affair somewhat spoiled the pleasure he got from the months he spent in Rome, but it had the result, at least, of deepening the friendship that existed between him and Dr. Forbes, which was not without its influence a little later.

Mrs. Larking was a marvellously able and gifted woman, who attracted a large circle of devoted friends. Her father belonged to a high Italian family, that of the Tibaldi. Two of his brothers were cardinals, but her father, having embraced revolutionary opinions, had been compelled to leave Italy; he went to Egypt,

where he married a Greek lady, who became the mother of Mrs. Larking. After her father's death her mother married a gentleman named Thurburn, a member of the Murtle family in Aberdeenshire, and the child, though born of a Roman Catholic father, was brought up a Protestant. But she held very liberal and unorthodox views, and seldom went to church. She always took a keen interest in the Italian revolutionists, several of whom Machray met and became acquainted with. One day he was a good deal surprised by one of these gentlemen making him a present of a handsome copy of the Bible in Italian. The donor, however, explained that he was anxious to get rid of the book; he had kept it in secret for a long time, had read it carefully, and was loth to part with it, but he was in constant apprehension that the authorities were on the point of paying him a domiciliary visit—if he was found with the Bible in his possession he believed that it would consign him to the galleys or a long term of imprisonment. He could not bear to destroy the book, and so passed it on to a man who would preserve it.

With another of these revolutionists Machray and his pupils drove out to the Marshes for a day's shooting, but no geese were killed and the party returned empty-handed. Care was taken that there should be no sleeping on their way back, for fear of Roman fever. Towards the end of his stay in Rome there was some alarm about this dreaded disease, as one well-known personage died of it. He visited with the boys all the objects of interest of which Rome is so full—ruins, churches, the catacombs, the picture galleries—but because of the fever they were extremely careful not to stay late in damp and underground

buildings. Fortunately, neither he nor any of the Larkings took the fever.

Soon after Easter 1857, Mrs. Larking and her children left Rome and went to Naples, while Machray went by sea to Leghorn, whence he passed on to Pisa and then to Florence, where, after a few weeks, he rejoined the Larking family, who had come north. At Pisa he made frequent visits to the Cathedral, Baptistery, Campo Santo, and the Leaning Tower. His friend Dr. Forbes was now settled for the summer at the Bagni di Lucca, which are within easy reach of Pisa, and Machray spent a pleasant day with him and Mrs. Forbes. So pleasant was it that he delayed to return till somewhat late ; on driving from the Baths to Lucca, where he was to take the railway to Pisa, he found the last train had gone, and he had to pass the night in a Lucca hotel. Next morning there occurred what turned out to be an amusing incident, but it might not have been at all amusing. The proprietor of the hotel asked him for his passport, which it was necessary to exhibit to the local police for their inspection. But he had left it at Pisa with the authorities, and the "Licenza di Soggiorno" (residence-permit) which they had given to him was with his other papers in the room of his hotel in the same city ; he had expected to get back in one day, and therefore had not brought it with him. All this he told to the expostulating proprietor, who vehemently declared he did not know how he was to satisfy the police. If Machray could not produce his passport, the police would certainly arrest him ! As the police, however, did nothing, Machray kept cool, called for his bill and paid it ; when the time came for the train to leave Lucca for Pisa he walked over to the station without hindrance, entered a carriage, presently

was safely on his way to Pisa, and heard no more of the matter.

While in Pisa he assisted the resident English Chaplain in the Services, and it was at this time that he made his first effort to preach without having before him the full script of his sermon. Dr. Forbes was in the habit of preaching from notes, and Machray tried to imitate him in this, hoping that he would gradually be able to dispense with them altogether, for he longed to be able to preach extempore, or, at any rate, without having to refer to anything written out. He took as his text, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (Rom. viii. 1), and he put down on a sheet of paper the beginnings of the sentences of his sermon. When he came to preach he found there were far too many of these beginnings, and he experienced the greatest trouble in completing the sentences, but he succeeded in each case and happily got through without any hitch.

When Mrs. Larking and her children arrived in Florence he immediately joined them. They occupied the Villa Capponi, which belonged to the Marchese Capponi, a large, beautifully situated residence about a mile outside the city, opposite Fiesole, over which they saw the moon—the moon of Milton—rise. The weather had become very warm, and as it was thought too hot for the children to attend church, Machray proposed having the Morning Service in the villa—to which Mrs. Larking agreed. He held the Service on Whitsunday, and preached on the Holy Spirit; he was greatly put out when Mrs. Larking, who had heard the sermon, told him that she could not object to his teaching, as her husband held his

views, but that all her feelings rose against her children being taught these ideas.

From the religious point of view Machray had never been quite comfortable with the Larkings, for when at Milton Place neither Mr. nor Mrs. Larking went to church, and his position as an earnest clergyman in such a household was sometimes one of considerable difficulty. So he made up his mind to give up his tutorship, though in many ways it was a desirable one. He therefore wrote to Mr. Larking, then in Naples, telling him that he wished to resign it, as he was not in sympathy with Mrs. Larking's religious opinions, which were Unitarian, and that he was not altogether happy in his surroundings. Mr. Larking replied in an amicable spirit, and it was arranged that the tutorship was to come to an end in the autumn.

During Machray's residence in Florence he assisted the English Chaplain regularly on Sundays. Among the people he met at Florence was a Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, named Strutton Smith. It was the time of the terrible Indian Mutiny, and everybody was anxious to hear the latest news, which was to be found in the Paris journal, *Galignani's Messenger*, but Mr. Smith would not look at this paper, in spite of its containing the most recent intelligence from India—because it spoilt for him his *Times*, which he received by the mail several days late!

Machray told Dr. Forbes that he was about to leave the Larkings, and Dr. Forbes asked him if he would care to go to Douglas, Isle of Man, and undertake the tuition of his sons, Edward and Arthur, and one or two other boys, for so many hours a day. Machray thought the matter over, and consented to

go, provided he was allowed full liberty to assist the Manx clergy; and as Dr. Forbes was willing, the arrangement was made. In the autumn he bade the Larkings farewell, parting from them all in the most friendly way, and travelled from Florence to Leghorn, and thence by sea to Genoa, from which city he went on to England, reaching Douglas in October 1857. Dr. Forbes and his family lived in a pleasant house called "The Bungalow," about a mile outside the town, and here Machray resided for rather more than a year, greatly enjoying his stay with these friends of his.

He took charge of a Church district in Douglas, and applied to the Hon. Dr. Powys, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, for a licence to officiate, which, however, he did not receive at once, the Bishop replying that he would like to see him when he next came to Douglas. Later he had an interview with Dr. Powys, who, amongst other things, asked him how he would explain the answer in the Catechism, "My Godfathers and Godmothers in my Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." Machray gave his views, which were in agreement with moderate Calvinistic or Augustinian ideas. At the close of their conversation the Bishop said he would send his licence to him after his return to Bishop's Court, and he might officiate in the meantime—but the licence was never sent! Machray went on, however, with his clerical work, in the course of which there occurred an incident which struck him very much, and of which he wrote the following account:

> In my district I met with a very interesting case—a young girl, very ill with consumption, who enjoyed the greatest peace from full faith in the Saviour. She constantly looked

out from the Bible what she called "Promises." One day I asked her, "To whom is Jesus precious?" She replied, "To them that believe." Some time after her death I was preaching in St. George's, Douglas, in the evening, from the text, "Unto you therefore which believe He is precious" (1 Peter ii. 7). The mother of the girl was present in the congregation, remembered her child's answer to me, and was greatly comforted.

Dr. Forbes acted as Secretary for the Church Missionary Society for the Isle of Man, and Machray frequently went with him to meetings and spoke at them; but he experienced the utmost difficulty in speaking without notes, and sometimes even with them. He could not recall what he had prepared—a disability from which he never quite freed himself; from first to last he was never very comfortable in public speaking. However, while in the island, he did a good deal of deputation work for the great Church Societies, generally by preaching written sermons, though occasionally he ventured on speeches at a public meeting; but his lack of self-confidence made these efforts somewhat painful to him. During the winter months he was a member of a very happy and genial Shakespeare Society, consisting of eight or nine friends, who met in the evenings once a week. At these gatherings tea first was served, then a play was read and discussed, and the evening came to an end with a short Service, which he and another clergyman conducted alternately. It was a very innocent kind of association, yet it did not escape remark. At the close of a party given by a brother of Archdeacon Moore, a clergyman present, who had been asked to offer prayer, entreated Almighty God that those "engaged in intellectual pursuits might not be carried away by them,"

and everybody understood that the allusion was to the little Shakespeare Society. When Machray left the island for Cambridge the remaining members presented him with a finely bound Bible.

In the beginning of the year 1858, Dr. Forbes delivered two lectures in the Douglas Institute on "Rome as I saw it," which were very largely attended; they were attacked, however, in the local newspaper. Machray came to the help of his friend, and wrote two letters in reply to Dr. Forbes's critics, who thereafter held their peace. These lectures, indeed, proved so popular that Dr. Forbes was asked to give them gratuitously for the working classes; he complied with the request, and had crowded audiences. This led afterwards to a ludicrous affair. The Presbyterian Minister of Douglas gave a lecture at the Institute on "Wit and Humour," which an admirer begged him to repeat, gratis, for the working people, as Dr. Forbes had done. He agreed, and a day was fixed, but when the time came scarcely a soul was present, and the lecture was not delivered. Wishing to support the minister, with whom he was on friendly terms, Machray had gone early to the hall, but when he perceived what was to happen he made his escape, so as to avoid seeing the discomfiture of the lecturer. The working classes had no appreciation of the minister's "Wit and Humour"; to make up for it, however, a Manx journal, which had not sent a reporter, published a flattering account of both lecture and audience. This, perhaps, was Manx humour.

The months passed pleasantly in clerical and tutorial work. In the early part of the summer Machray received an important letter from the friend of his King's College days, John M'Lean, who informed him

that his mind was set on taking Holy Orders. M'Lean had done remarkably well in business, and had excellent prospects before him. Working with the zeal and intensity which characterised him, he had acquired such a mastery of French, German, and Spanish that he had been placed in charge of the foreign correspondence of the great commercial house in London that he had entered on leaving Aberdeen; but his thoughts had turned to spiritual things, and he had become a prominent and active member of the Church of England Young Men's Society. When the Bishop of Ripon preached for that Society in 1858 he was one of two of its members detailed to see the Bishop and attend him. He spoke of his desire to become a clergyman to the Bishop, and the Bishop agreed to accept him as a candidate; it was this news which M'Lean communicated to Machray, and some letters passed between them. It would not have been like Machray if he had not had some helpful suggestion to make in such circumstances, and with Dr. Forbes's consent he asked M'Lean to come and stay with him in Douglas, and work in the parish of St. George's, while at the same time he could go on with his reading for the Bishop of Ripon's examination. Machray suggested alternatively to M'Lean that if he came to Douglas he might be ordained by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, as that might suit him better, and M'Lean wished to adopt this course.

But when Machray spoke to the Bishop of Sodor and Man on the subject, asking him if he would accept M'Lean, on the strength of his being M.A. of Aberdeen, as a candidate for Orders, the Bishop objected. The plan, therefore, fell through, and M'Lean did not go to the Isle of Man. Shortly after this, however,

Dr. Hellmuth, the Bishop of Huron in Canada, who happened to be in England on a visit, heard of M'Lean and proposed that he should take Orders from him and work in Canada instead of being ordained by the Bishop of Ripon for work in England. M'Lean was satisfied, and soon afterwards set out for Canada. Before sailing from Liverpool, Machray and he spent a night at Thornton with the Adamses. At evening prayer Machray commended his old friend to God's gracious care and blessing. When they met again seven years afterwards, Machray, then Bishop of Rupert's Land, had summoned him to his side at Fort Garry, out of which the great city of Winnipeg has sprung, to act as Archdeacon of Assiniboia (Manitoba) and Warden of his new College of St. John.

In 1858 Machray took his M.A. degree at Cambridge. In May of that year he had been asked to go to Sidney College as Mathematical Examiner at an ensuing Fellowship Examination; but as the weather was very rough and the seas high, he wrote excusing himself. Another Fellow of Sidney was appointed examiner in his place; but the storm meanwhile having abated, he went to Cambridge after all. He had been out of residence for about three years; there had been some changes in the staff, and he now formed some new acquaintances while renewing old friendships. He made an agreeable impression on all, and there was some talk of his coming permanently into residence as a Fellow. He returned, however, to the Isle of Man for a few months, and it was not till the end of December that he went to Sidney as Dean of the College, in succession to the Rev. R. H. Cooke. He had made it a condition on accepting the office of Dean that he should be at liberty to take parish or other Church

work while "in residence," and before he left Douglas for Cambridge he wrote to the Rev. Charles Clayton, Senior Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, the aforetime church of the great Cambridge Evangelical leader, Charles Simeon, stating that he would be glad to be of any service in Church matters, and wished clerical duty. Clayton replied at once and expressed his gratification, praying that Machray might "come in the fulness of the Gospel of Christ."

CHAPTER V

COLLEGE AND CLERICAL WORK

1858–1865

When Machray returned to Sidney College at the close of 1858 he was twenty-seven years of age; in appearance he was a tall, reedy, loosely-made, and delicate-looking man. It was then the Christmas Vacation, and the College, except for the "Questionists" preparing for the approaching Tripos in January, was empty; his duties as Dean were light. Under the old Elizabethan statutes by which the College was founded it was provided that the Dean was, amongst other things, to hold every Friday during Term a Theological Disputation of two hours' duration from four to six in the afternoon; and that on Sundays, for the space of one hour, he was bound to expound some Article of the Christian Faith. But those strenuous days of disputations and expoundings had long passed away. Fifty years ago, as at the present time, the chief duty of a College Dean was the supervision of the conduct of the undergraduates within the College, and the holding of the Daily Services in the Chapel. He had to take notice of misbehaviour within the walls, to see that the men attended Chapel regularly, and to inquire into the reasons that sometimes caused them to be out of

College without permission after midnight or after the College gates were closed.

There were two Services each week-day in the Chapel, one in the early morning, the other in the afternoon or evening immediately before dinner in Hall; and every undergraduate, unless specially excused, had to "keep," that is, be present at, a certain number of these Services, which consisted simply of Morning or Evening Prayer, as the case might be, including the Lessons for the Day, which were read by the Scholars of the College in rotation. On Sundays there was Morning Prayer, with the Litany and part of the Office for Holy Communion, but no sermon, beginning at ten o'clock in the forenoon; in the evening there was Evening Prayer before dinner. Sidney Chapel was small and had neither organ nor choir; the services, therefore, were not attractive in the popular sense, and the presence of the undergraduates at them was enforced as a matter of College discipline rather than from the point of view of religion. Undergraduates of a serious turn were wont to attend some church in the town on Sunday evenings after the Service in College; thus Machray, while an undergraduate, went regularly to All Saints'. During Vacation there were no Services except on Sundays; and the Questionists, being in their last year, would give him but little trouble. His full duty as Dean began with the Lent Term of 1859.

Soon after reaching Cambridge he called on Mr. Clayton, the Vicar of Holy Trinity, to whom he had written from Douglas. The two men had much in common, and a warm friendship speedily grew up between them. When William Carus, afterwards Canon, went to Winchester, Charles Clayton succeeded

him in Trinity Church, and thus took Simeon's place (Carus was the successor of Simeon) as leader of the Evangelical party in Cambridge. This he continued to be till Bishop Bickersteth of Ripon, whose Examining Chaplain he was, appointed him Rector of Stanhope. He exercised a remarkable influence on many generations of undergraduates. Clergymen and laymen of Evangelical opinions, who sent their sons up to Cambridge at this time, had them introduced to him, and bade them go to the sermon which he preached at Holy Trinity on Sunday evenings ; in his congregation there were generally upwards of a hundred undergraduates. He took a personal interest in these young men, holding a special prayer meeting for them at the commencement of each Term, and he got to know them individually by having them to breakfast with him in his rooms at Caius College. Machray liked him very much, admiring his earnestness and zeal, but he thought his views on Church matters were extreme. Machray himself was also an Evangelical, and remained an Evangelical to the end of his life, but one of his most salient characteristics was a strong commonsense not easily thrown out of balance, and this most useful of all gifts in practical affairs, or any other sort of affairs, made him a man of essentially moderate views.

When he and Clayton came to know each other intimately, and to understand each other, he exerted a great influence on his friend, which rendered him more tolerant in his criticisms of the acts and opinions of others. This, of course, came later. When Machray first met him in 1859 their conversation was concerned with Church work in and around Cambridge, in which work Machray wished with his whole heart to take as

large a share as was possible in his position. He speedily, in one way or another, had what he wanted.

Some seven miles south-west of Cambridge there lies the small parish of Newton—a tiny cure of souls, with an area of less than a thousand acres, and a population under two hundred ; the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral were then lords of the manor, Mr. William Swan Hurrell, the local squire, being "Lay Rector." The neighbouring and somewhat larger parish of Hauxton was joined with Newton, and the Vicar of the united parishes, the Rev. George Williams, used to have Services in the churches of Newton and Hauxton alternately morning and evening on Sundays, but the gentry of the former wished to have two Sunday Services in their own Church of St. Margaret's, and an arrangement to that effect had been made. Prior to Machray's becoming Dean of Sidney, these Services had been taken by Mr. Kingsley, the Tutor of the College, who now was anxious to be relieved from them. Mr. Kingsley spoke to Machray about Newton and asked him if he would undertake the duty. Machray went out to survey the ground and to see the Vicar, and then agreed to accept the charge, but on conditions, which were that he was not to be licensed as Curate to Mr. Williams, and that that gentleman should allow him to visit in Newton, and to have a night school for the rustic parishioners should he think it desirable, just as if he were actual Incumbent; in other words, he wished to have the parish to himself, and Mr. Williams consented that it should be so. He made no claim to any part of the Vicar's income, but the Hurrells and one or two of the other gentlefolk of the place subscribed £40 a year towards his expenses.

The arrangement was not profitable pecuniarily, as

he hired a pony-trap to take him from Cambridge to Newton every Sunday, and also at least once a week to enable him to visit in the parish. Among the first things he did was to start a night school, to which he went twice a week, generally going by train from Cambridge to Harston, a village about a mile from Newton, and walking the rest of the way, but he often walked to the school from Cambridge and back again, a tramp of fourteen miles. He was soon popular with his people; the gentry were particularly kind to him, and the school was a great success. He continued to have charge of the parish till June 1862, and it gave him many of the happiest days of this period of his life. Mr. Williams-Ellis writes of it as follows:

As a clergyman Machray was not satisfied by the scrupulous performance of College duties as Dean, but outside the College he voluntarily undertook parochial work. For some time he acted as Curate in the village of Newton, starting there, with the help of the squire, a night school, often trudging in dark wintry nights the seven miles there and the seven miles back through mud and rain. I used sometimes to accompany him. The school was well attended. There were youths of all ages, and there would be old ploughmen with their heads on the desks holding their pens like pitchforks, and admiring the huge pothooks that they laboriously and slowly formed. I need scarcely add that he was so greatly loved by rich and poor that his very name has ever since been held in the deepest reverence and affection.

Machray at that time was very thin and tall, and almost consumptive-looking, with something of a "Dominie Sampson" appearance—seeming rather absent-minded, and always likely to take the wrong turning in a walk. Few who knew him in after years would recognise my sketch in the strong-looking, handsome, dignified Archbishop of Rupert's Land. Still he had always the same fine Dante expression of countenance, the

same delightful smile of welcome for a friend, and above all, the same childlike simplicity of nature and the same unvarying kindness of heart.

The Service on Sunday mornings at Newton prevented him from holding the Morning Service in the College Chapel; but this caused no difficulty, as his place was taken either by the Master, Dr. Phelps, or by one of the Fellows, all of whom were in Orders. It may have been because of his absence from the College Morning Service, but one of the few changes he made at Sidney while he was its Dean was to add a sermon to the Sunday Evening Service, which he usually preached himself. He was no longer a member of the Dudleian Society, as it was confined entirely to undergraduates, but he continued to take an interest in it. He was on friendly terms with the students, who quickly came to appreciate his kindness and unselfishness. He was very sympathetic with nervous scholars who had to read the Lessons in Chapel in turn; he was known on more than one occasion to take them into Chapel when no Service was going on, and have them practise the reading of the Lessons until they had gained some confidence. As illustrating the relations that existed between himself and the undergraduates, and what they thought of him, the following incident, narrated by Mr. Williams-Ellis, is given:

Some years ago, in a little, dark, crowded smoking-room of a steamer on its way to Palestine, a discussion arose regarding Bishops. The Right Reverend Fathers in God were accused of luxury, idleness, driving about in carriages, and other similar worldlinesses. I said, "Well, I know one Bishop who, I believe, gives up the whole of his income to his Diocese, acts as Master in his School and as Professor in his College, and gladly undertakes work for which no payment can be found. He is the most

unselfish man I know, layman or bishop." "Is that Machray?" asked a man lying on a sofa in the dark. "If so, he was my Dean at College." The man turned out to be a clergyman, an old College pupil, of whom I had not heard for many years.

Machray lived in great harmony with the Master and Fellows of Sidney during these happy Cambridge days, but his chief intimates were the gentleman who contributes the above and other passages, the Rev. J. C. Williams-Ellis, and, somewhat later, John Rundell Cornish, now Bishop of St. Germans, Suffragan of the Bishop of Truro. In 1859 Mr. Kingsley resigned the Tutorship of Sidney on accepting the Rectory of South Kelvington, and Mr. Williams-Ellis, who had been Lecturer at Christ's College, was appointed in his stead. Williams-Ellis, who was Third Wrangler in 1856, was already a Fellow of Sidney. Dr. Cornish took his B.A. degree in 1859, and soon afterwards came into residence at Sidney as Taylor Lecturer. Within a few years he was elected to a Fellowship of the College.

The three men formed a close friendship of no ordinary kind, living much in each other's rooms, taking long walks together, talking eagerly on all the current topics of the University and of the bigger world that lay beyond it, sharing each other's thoughts and ideas, each adding something individual to the common fund. Dr. Cornish, like Mr. Williams-Ellis, frequently went with Machray to Newton. The partnership, as it may be called, lasted for four or five years, and during that period the three breakfasted in one another's rooms every day during term-time, and met, after the Church duties of the day were done, nearly every Sunday evening in Dr. Cornish's rooms, when generally some book of the day was discussed. Mr. Williams-Ellis writes :

About this time (1859) I became Tutor of the College, and it was from then on that Machray became my intimate and lifetime friend. He had been summoned up to College to act as Dean. Cornish (the Bishop of St. Germans) was Taylor Lecturer. We three always used to breakfast in each other's rooms, and partly as a concession to our Scotch partner, we always had a goodly supply of porridge. This at first we got sent up from the College kitchens; but finally we used to order our oatmeal from Scotland and cooked it ourselves in our rooms, and by the assistance of our imaginations we considered the result superb.

Machray and myself thought that we would like to take a medical degree, as, in possible circumstances, it might be useful to us. Machray even then looked forward to taking up missionary work. So we went to Professor Humphrey's most interesting Lectures in Anatomy, and to Professor Living's in Chemistry. However, we eventually gave up the idea, as we should have had to spend a long period in hospital work. We once were very much amused by the answer of one of our undergraduates to the Professor's question, "What is nitrogen?" The examinee replied with confidence, "Nitrogen is a negative quantity." This reminds me of the answer sent in by a man of the same year as Machray to the question what was the old name of the Black Sea. The answer was "Negro-Pont."

St. John's College was the only College at that time which had a laboratory, but we got Sidney to allow one to be started in some ground-floor rooms. However, as complaints of disagreeable fumes were made by the occupants of the rooms above, the Sidney laboratory was removed to a separate building. We now and again tried some simple experiments in our own rooms. Once in Cornish's rooms we began one. A fine india-rubber was conveying hydrogen to our experimental retort, when we suddenly discovered that the tube was on fire, and that the fire was stealing up to the explosive mixture. We used to accuse Machray of rushing into Cornish's bedroom and bolting the door. This was probably unjust. I think we dived under the table as the safest place, and waited

in agony for the coming explosion to blow the College to atoms. Finding after awhile that nothing happened, we recovered from our fright, and naturally accused each other of abject cowardice.

Machray, Cornish, and myself used to meet every Sunday evening or nearly so. One night I was reading aloud to them *Essays and Reviews*, which had just then come out (1861). Our custom was to discuss some book of importance on these occasions. Well, certain comments were made on this famous book; and I can see now, after all the years that have come and gone, Machray getting up and fidgeting about when any remarks were uttered favouring what was then considered an extra Broad Church or unorthodox view. Clayton, Tutor of Caius, was then the head of the Evangelical party in Cambridge, and Machray was quite one of his best supporters. But Machray was always very reasonable—which Clayton was not, always. Machray was a strong Churchman, with an intense dislike to anything like Broad or unorthodox views.

Bishop Cornish writes that he also remembers the particular evening alluded to in the foregoing paragraph, and the book that was the subject of their criticisms. He adds that these Sunday evening meetings latterly were not confined to the three friends, for men came in from other colleges, so that there sometimes was a considerable number present at them. By this time Machray had a large circle of acquaintances, owing to the prominent part he took as secretary of several Church organisations in Cambridge, and for other and more personal reasons. He was an active member of the local Church of England Young Men's Society, and taught some of its classes; an honorary secretary of the Army Scripture Readers' Society, of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and of several other religious Societies; he was also on the Committees of all the Evangelical Societies of the town and district

with his friend Clayton. He was one of a small Committee for Church Extension in Cambridge, the others being Archdeacon Emery, the Rev. W. T. Beaumont of St. Michael's, the Rev. John Martin of Great St. Andrew's, and the Rev. C. Alfred Jones of St. John's. Of the last named Machray saw a great deal, and they became warmly attached friends ; Mr. Jones took duty for him occasionally at Newton. When Machray became Bishop of Rupert's Land, Mr. Jones acted as secretary of his General Committee, and afterwards was one of his Commissaries, occupying that position for over a quarter of a century. Another of his Commissaries was the Rev. T. T. Perowne, now Archdeacon of Norwich, who with his brother, the Rev. E. H. Perowne, late Master of Corpus Christi College, was intimate with him at Cambridge.

In the spring of 1862 the parish of Madingley became vacant through the resignation of the Vicar, the Rev. Thomas Field. The presentation to the living was in the gift of the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Turton, the prelate who had ordained Machray. Advancing years had caused Bishop Turton to lean more and more on the advice of Dr. Corrie, the Master of Jesus, who continued to be his Examining Chaplain ; and Dr. Corrie, influenced probably by Clayton, suggested that Madingley should be offered to Machray, and the Bishop in June appointed him Vicar. Considered merely as a living, Madingley was not particularly desirable, for its annual income was only about a hundred pounds, and at that time there was no vicarage. But, for all that, it was attractive in other ways ; it could be held with a Fellowship of one of the Colleges ; it was within easy reach of Cambridge, being some three and a half miles from the town ; and the

village of Madingley is perhaps the prettiest in the county. It is, besides, a small parish, with less than two hundred inhabitants, and an area of 1768 acres, and therefore could be easily worked, from a Church point of view, from Cambridge. Since Machray's incumbency a vicarage has been built, and the church, a lovely little structure, has been restored.[1] The church, which is surrounded with large and beautiful yew-trees, was held by many to have shared with that of Stoke Pogis the inspiration of Gray's *Elegy*.

But the chief feature of the place is Madingley Hall, a Tudor mansion built in the reign of Henry VIII., that stands in a park of two hundred acres ; the church is just within the park gates. The Hall was for many generations the seat of the Cotton family. When King Edward, then Prince of Wales, was an undergraduate of Cambridge in 1861, it was lent to him as a residence ; of this time Mr. Williams-Ellis relates an anecdote :

There was an old tumble-down van on the road half-way between Cambridge and Madingley, in which lived an old woman whom we generally found hunting for "rots" (rats) under the van. There was a story current that once the Prince, walking into Cambridge to attend lectures, was overtaken by rain, and asked the old woman for the loan of an umbrella. She produced a rather dilapidated affair, and asked the Prince to be sure and hand it in to a certain stall in the

[1] Mr. Williams-Ellis succeeded Machray as Vicar in 1865. A few years later the "Lay Rector," Miss Cotton, undertook to restore the fabric of the church. About £1000 was expended, towards which the Prince of Wales (now King) sent a donation. The old lead roof had to be removed ; but as it was very thick, and contained, as usually is the case with such old roofs, a percentage of silver, more was obtained for it than the new lead cost. It had been noticed before the restoration that there were always great quantities of bees in the church. When the old lead was removed, there were found in the roof large stores of honey—the accumulation of years. This resulted in a contention between the churchwarden and the clerk of the parish as to whose property it was !

The Rev. Robert Machray, M.A.,
Vicar of Madingley.

market in the town, where she was going later in the day. When the Prince's messenger brought the umbrella, and the old woman heard that it was the Prince of Wales who had borrowed it, she exclaimed, "Oh, if I had only known who he was, I should have lent him my best one!"

When Machray became Vicar of Madingley, the fine old Hall was occupied by Lady King, daughter of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton and widow of Sir Richard King, and her family. Machray called immediately on his appointment, and received a cordial welcome. He soon knew every member of his flock, and quickly settled down to his new parochial work. But just at first there was a slight check. When he came to take possession of the parish, which he did according to old-time English custom by "ringing himself in"—that is, by ringing the church bell to intimate his institution as vicar—he was able to extract from the bell no more than two or three peals. Now an ancient superstition, by no means confined to Madingley, prophesied that no vicar should enjoy the living for more years than the number of peals of the bell when he rang himself in. The village wiseacres shook their heads, and thought that his time would be short. And, of course, he smiled. Yet in his case the prophecy was fulfilled, for three years had not quite elapsed when he was nominated Bishop of Rupert's Land, and his Consecration took place almost exactly three years after his ringing himself in at Madingley.

Miss King, a daughter of Lady King who has been dead for some years, writes of Machray's incumbency of Madingley: "He was beloved by all, and who could help it? He exhibited, then as always, the same earnestness, singleness of purpose, and kindness of heart that made him later the great Archbishop whose

loss all regret." Two events which occurred during the Madingley period of his life may be noted. During the winter of 1862-63 he prepared and delivered a lecture in London at Exeter Hall to the Young Men's Christian Association on "John Howe and the Times of the Puritans." The lecture, with others of the course delivered during that winter, was published in book form in 1863. It was the only thing of the kind he ever attempted, and he devoted a great deal of time and study to his subject. How he came to be asked to lecture in Exeter Hall, or why he selected this particular theme, is not known.

For the purpose of this biography this lecture is interesting rather because it shows the nature and thoughts of the man who delivered it than because of anything it says that is fresh or specially illuminating respecting the Puritans. The subject, he maintained, was a large one and a striking, as regarded both the actor of whom he was to speak and the times in which the man played his part in Church and State. With respect to John Howe he said: "Few men have lived so prominently in exciting times, and yet lived such a holy life; few men have suffered for conscience' sake, and yet abstained from so much as an unkind word." And as for the times—the days of the last generation of the Puritans: "They were thirty years during which England recklessly threw away and wasted the men who from their talents, honesty, holiness, and, above all, deep concern for immortal souls, would have been as salt in her midst. . . . We degraded ourselves at home, and we were degraded abroad, and yet we owe not a little to their very badness. It was the completeness of the degradation of 1668 that made the completeness of the Revolution."

But, said the lecturer, he desired to add nothing to the bitterness of controversies; "it would be unpardonable to make the life of Howe a vehicle for a sectarian address." And he went on to declare that the study of these times and their bitter conflicts conveyed, and could convey, but one lesson that was worth the learning—"to moderate our own tone in our differences and controversies. Perhaps to those that follow us, much that we now toil for, as for life itself, may seem shadowy enough." When the cause of the Puritans triumphed, they showed themselves as intolerant as any of their opponents, and "intolerance was only another name for selfishness." After a survey of Howe's life and times, he characterised him as a man whose predominating traits were faithfulness without bigotry, and an ever-outflowing love for others which made himself much loved. "Religion was to his own soul that living, delightful thing which he loved to tell others that it was. Like Faithful in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, he had sunshine all the rest of the way, and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death." Machray wound up his lecture by a plea for unity founded on a wise and wide tolerance in the Church, and quoted, with high approval, a passage from Marsden's *History of the Later Puritans*, which affirmed that a National Church must stand on a generous basis, and must admit good men of every shade of orthodox piety, and that its terms of communion must be few.

The second event took place in 1864, and made a Red-Letter Day for Madingley. Rather more than a year after their marriage, the Prince and Princess of Wales (now King Edward and Queen Alexandra) paid a visit to Cambridge, where they were magnificently

entertained by the University and the town. It was at the beginning of the month of June, the season when Cambridge and the famous and unrivalled "Backs" of the Colleges are at their loveliest and best —the "May Week," as it is termed, though the week generally happens to fall in June, which marks the end of the Summer Term and the farewell of one generation of undergraduates—undergraduates, strictly speaking, no longer. The Prince took a great pleasure in showing the Princess some of the memorials of his Cambridge undergraduate period, and amongst other places he took her to Madingley to see the Hall in which he had resided and the pretty village standing at its gates—never prettier than at this part of the summer. On Saturday, June 4, the royal party drove over to Madingley Hall, where they were received by Lady King and her daughter, with whom were Machray, as Vicar, and his sister, Mary Machray, who had come up from Scotland to take part in the "May" festivities. The little village throbbed with happy excitement, and the parishioners, in their bravest array, turned out *en masse*. The Prince and Princess conversed for a short time with Lady King and her guests, and then the Prince showed his old rooms to the Princess before driving back again to Cambridge.

In the course of the same summer Machray, accompanied by his sister, spent several weeks in Switzerland, mainly at Interlaken and in its neighbourhood, where they indulged in some mountain-climbing. Machray came into residence again as Dean of Sidney at the commencement of the October Term, 1864. Some time in October of that year an event occurred which was destined to have the profoundest effect on the whole of his future life, for it was then that Dr. Anderson,

the first Bishop of Rupert's Land, resigned his See; very soon afterwards it was offered informally to Machray, who consented to undertake it. The formal offer of the Bishopric by command of Queen Victoria was made in the beginning of January 1865, but the offer, and his acceptance of it, were not publicly announced for some months owing to special circumstances. These were that the Colenso case was then before the Ecclesiastical Courts, and it was thought that the decision which might be arrived at might prejudicially affect the whole question of the position of Colonial Bishoprics and the rights of the Crown to appoint to them. Dr. Colenso was appointed Bishop of Natal in 1853 by Queen Victoria; in 1861 he published a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, which contained statements which were supposed to be of a heretical nature. Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, his Metropolitan, tried him for heresy, and condemned and deposed him from the Bishopric of Natal. Dr. Colenso appealed to the English Courts, and the sentence of deposition was set aside in May 1865, whereupon he returned to Natal and resumed his Bishopric, although Bishop Gray excommunicated him, and brought in another Bishop for the same Diocese, but under another title.

Apart from any matter of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, the decision of English law at least preserved, and affirmed afresh, the rights of the Crown with respect to Colonial Bishoprics. The Royal Mandate to consecrate Machray Bishop of Rupert's Land was not issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury until May 19, after the Colenso case was settled. Meanwhile Machray, it was arranged, was privately to communicate his appointment to the Sidney authorities and a few others who

were deeply interested. The Crown was represented in the offer of the See by Mr., afterwards Viscount, Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies; Lord Cardwell is best remembered by the changes he introduced into the British Army, such as the abolition of the purchase of commissions and the institution of the "Short Service" system. Machray's name for the vacant Bishopric was submitted to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, probably on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Henry Venn, who was perhaps inspired by Clayton; this great Church organisation supported at that time by far the largest number of the clergy in Rupert's Land, and would certainly be consulted in such an important matter as the selection of a Bishop for it. Machray had been for some years a prominent member of the Cambridge branch of the Society, and his character and powers of work were well known and appreciated by their chiefs in London. It is also probable that Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, had something to do with suggesting Machray for Rupert's Land to the Archbishop. Machray was very intimate with Frederick Gell of Christ's College (afterwards Bishop of Madras), who was a great friend of Tait's, and his Examining Chaplain, and Machray had met the Bishop in Gell's rooms. Perhaps Gell mentioned Machray's name to Dr. Tait for the vacant See.

Apart from his duties as Dean of Sidney, Machray had taken a comparatively small share in the University. He was one of the University Examiners in 1859, and again in 1860. He did not deliver lectures or take any of the classes in his College. But that he had completely absorbed the spirit of Cambridge and its life was to be manifested in a remarkable manner

when he came to deal with the problems connected with College-making and University-making in a new country. Most of his time was occupied with work of various kinds that belonged more to the sphere of the clergyman than of the College don—his parish of Madingley and the Church Societies of the town. During Term he frequently had undergraduates of Sidney and of other Colleges, and graduates too, to breakfast or "wine" with him, and these parties had always something of religion in the background: it would be unobtrusive, like the man himself, but it would be there; occasionally some well-known Evangelical was present. He did not give up his Cambridge life, with its manifold activities, without deep regret, but the "clear call" summoned him from it.

He felt the parting from Madingley very much. A few years afterwards, in one of his Addresses to the Synod of Rupert's Land, he referred to this period of his career. He was speaking to his clergy of their duties and privileges as parish priests. He said: "What an ambition there should be in every minister to find out what may give his people something fresh, edifying, and instructive every week! Often have I lamented that I never had the joy of being able to devote myself entirely to the office of a parish priest. It seems to me the most enchanting occupation in life, as well as the most solemn and awful. What can equal the charge of a number of immortal souls! What loving thought, what amazing interest their spiritual life should call out! When I was Vicar of an English parish I had College and University duties, and many voluntary labours in connection with religious societies, and since I have been here I have had the care of all the Churches." On his resignation of Madingley

he was given as a compliment by Dr. Harold Browne, who had succeeded Dr. Turton as Bishop of Ely, the nomination of his successor to the living, and he offered it to Mr. Williams-Ellis, who accepted it.

Before the public announcement of his appointment to the Bishopric, he was allowed to enter into communication with the heads of the great Church Societies, whose sphere of work lies mainly or wholly in Greater Britain and in foreign parts, and to whom he had to look for subsidies for his clergy. These Societies were the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; throughout the rest of this volume they will generally be mentioned simply under the initials by which, as a matter of fact, they are usually known respectively, namely, the C.M.S., the S.P.G., the C.C.C.S., and the S.P.C.K. Machray went to London and saw the chiefs of these organisations. He also met Bishop Anderson, and had long and intimate conversations with him respecting Rupert's Land, about which he was naturally anxious to have the fullest particulars. Much also he learned from Archdeacon Hunter, who had worked for many years in Rupert's Land as a missionary of the C.M.S., but was then in England and on the point of retiring from their service. In one way or another he got a tolerably clear impression of the situation in the field of labour to which he was about to go, and had made up his mind how to deal with it.

Towards the end of March, writing to Prebendary Bulloch, then Honorary Secretary of the S.P.G., he stated that he was to set before himself three main objects on his arrival in Rupert's Land—to encourage

a Native Church, to induce each congregation to aim persistently at self-support, and to secure the ground for the Church of England. He was desirous of starting a Diocesan Fund, but as that meant an appeal to the public, the effort was postponed till his appointment was announced. Early in May, however, he had an interview with Mr. Cardwell, the Colonial Secretary; his acceptance of the Bishopric became an open secret, and he was alluded to in the press as Bishop-nominate of Rupert's Land. By this time he had become possessed of the belief that Rupert's Land was destined to have a great future. At a meeting of the C.M.S. held in Cambridge on May 15, at which the Bishop of Ely and Bishop Anderson were present, he referred to his conversation with Mr. Cardwell, who had said to him jokingly that if the statements about Rupert's Land in the American papers were true, one would be led to believe there had not been such a country since the Garden of Eden. Machray said, in his calm, common-sense way, that there was every prospect from the early opening up of means of communication of a large addition to the population of Rupert's Land, but it was impossible to calculate the extent of the probable increase. Yet from the beginning he had a conviction of the coming greatness of the country.

His Consecration was fixed for June 24. A few days prior to the ceremony he preached the Ramsden Sermon before the University. This is a missionary sermon (the endowment for which was provided by a Mrs. Ramsden of Bath, on the suggestion of a treasurer of the S.P.G.) given once a year in St. Mary's at Cambridge, on "Church Extension over the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire." In his sermon he spoke of Rupert's Land and its special

needs, and besought the sympathy and prayers of his congregation for himself and his Diocese. He had already been made D.D. of Cambridge, and Aberdeen had followed suit by making him LL.D. *honoris causa*. When the Public Orator presented him for the degree at Cambridge, he introduced him in a long Latin speech, in which he spoke of the work Machray had done in the town and neighbourhood, as well as in the University, and expressed the confidence of all in the success he would achieve in the almost unknown land to which he was about to depart.

The Consecration took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace on Saturday, June 24, the day being the Festival of St. John the Baptist. At eleven o'clock in the morning a procession, which had been formed in the Palace, entered the chapel; it consisted of the consecrating prelates, who were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley), the Bishops of London (Dr. Tait) and Ely (Dr. Browne), the Bishop of Aberdeen (Dr. Suther), and Bishop Anderson, and of some friends of the Bishop-designate, among whom was Clayton. After prayers Clayton preached the sermon, taking as his text, "We preach Christ crucified," 1 Cor. i. 23. Dr. Machray was presented to the Archbishop by the Bishops of London and Ely, and duly and canonically consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land. He was then a little over thirty-four years of age, and was the youngest Bishop of the Church of England then alive.

CHAPTER VI

BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND

1865

On June 25, the day after his Consecration, the new Bishop performed the first distinctively episcopal act of his life by ordaining to the priesthood the Rev. William Carpenter Bompas in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London. Bompas had been curate at Alford in Lincolnshire, but had earnestly desired for some time to become a missionary abroad; he had already offered himself to the C.M.S. for work in the Orient, but the Society had thought him rather too old to learn the languages of the East thoroughly. It happened, however, that in 1864 he was present when a sermon was preached by Bishop Anderson, who appealed for a man to go out to Fort Yukon to relieve the devoted and heroic Archdeacon M'Donald, then ill and worn out with his hard and incessant labours in that remote and solitary post in the far north of Rupert's Land. Bompas, deeply impressed, immediately volunteered his services, and was accepted for their Fort Yukon mission by the C.M.S., who arranged with the Bishop of London, as diocesan of the See in which the ceremony was to take place, that his own Bishop, Dr. Machray, was to ordain him. He

sailed from England without delay for America, and reached Fort Simpson, a mission on the Mackenzie River, after a journey of many months, to hear that M'Donald had recovered. From Fort Simpson he went to Athabasca, and he did not leave these far northern regions until he went back to London to be consecrated, in 1874, Bishop of Athabasca, one of the first dioceses to be carved out of the original Diocese of Rupert's Land. Of this great missionary a biography was published in 1908 by the Rev. H. A. Cody, under the striking and appropriate title, *An Apostle of the North*.

Bishop Machray did not leave for his See for some two months, employing the time in raising funds for his Diocese and in making necessary preparations. On the day of his Consecration he issued a printed statement which, besides asking for financial assistance, gave a description of Rupert's Land. For the purpose of aiding his efforts he had already formed an influential committee, which included the Bishops of London, Ely, and Ripon, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Bishop Anderson, Clayton, then Canon of Ripon and Rector of Stanhope, Darlington, Canon Selwyn, Canon Sale, the Rev. C. A. Jones, then Mathematical Master in Westminster School, the Rev. T. T. Perowne, now Archdeacon of Norwich, the Rev. W. Banham, the friend of Dr. Machray's Cambridge undergraduate days, and several others. He visited a number of centres, delivering addresses on behalf of Rupert's Land, but the time was too brief for much being done; he succeeded, however, in collecting £400, to which he added £100 from his own pocket. This result was not very good; its leanness was probably caused, not only by the shortness of time at his com-

mand, but also by the fact that few people knew, and still fewer cared, anything about Rupert's Land. He appointed as his Commissary the Rev. Charles Edward Oakley, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

He had two long interviews with Prebendary Venn of the C.M.S., who urged upon him the desirability of seeking to make the missions self-supporting wherever it was possible, and of having native pastors for the Indian congregations ; both were ideas with which he was in complete agreement. The heads of the other Church Societies expressed very similar views. Amongst other things, he heard that his episcopal residence, Bishop's Court, St. John's, had been allowed to get into a dilapidated condition after Bishop Anderson's departure, and that it was hardly fit for habitation ; so much out of repair was it that shortly before he left England the C.M.S. offered to him the use of the parsonage of one of their missions, St. Andrew's, some miles distant from St. John's. In the meantime the clergy and people of his Diocese had been apprised of his appointment and Consecration, and informed that he would arrive amongst them in the end of September or the beginning of October.

Accompanied by his personal servant, Thomas Smith, a young fellow drawn from a Cambridgeshire village, who, in after years, became a member of the Legislature of Manitoba, he travelled by sea, and land, and river, until he arrived at St. Paul in the State of Minnesota, where he bought a horse and carriage with which he was to continue his journey from St. Cloud, the most westerly point to which a railway then ran. In those days the great American transcontinental railways did not exist, and St. Cloud was only a few miles from St. Paul, which, however, was not then

fully connected with New York by railroad. From St. Cloud northward to the southern boundary of Rupert's Land there lay some four hundred miles of prairie, to be traversed by stage, or carriage, or waggon. While in St. Paul, however, he was met by Mr. Colin Inkster, who had come from St. John's to guide him to his new home. Of the journey from St. Cloud, Mr. Inkster, now the Hon. Colin Inkster, formerly a member of the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and still Sheriff of Manitoba, has furnished the following graphic account :

It was in August 1865 that I was asked to take charge of a party going to meet the Bishop at St. Cloud, Minnesota, which was then the terminus of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, and to bring him with his luggage to that part of Rupert's Land known as the Red River Settlement, in which were his Cathedral and his residence, Bishop's Court. I had three men, six horses and carts, and a couple of spare horses. We arrived at St. Cloud about the middle of September, and had to wait about ten days for his arrival. Meanwhile I took the train to St. Paul, where I met him. I shall never forget the first impression the Bishop made on me. Although I was only a mere lad, I could see he was no ordinary man. He was tall and thin, with a jet-black beard and piercing black eyes. The reverence which he then inspired in me went on increasing as long as he lived.

We were kept waiting in St. Cloud much longer than we had expected, but as soon as we were ready we made a start ; it was on a Friday, and it might, but for an all-ruling Providence, have proved a very sad day for us all. We intended to drive about twelve miles to a village called Cold Spring. We had not been on the road half-an-hour when a tremendous storm, with thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, came upon us. It was impossible to pitch a tent, so I advised the Bishop to drive on to Cold Spring and stay the night there in a hotel. The village was built on the side of a hill, and across the road, quite

near it, was a "wash-out" some ten to twelve feet deep, which had been made by the storm; it was too dark for us to see what had occurred, and we knew not our peril; even at this distant date it is frightful to think of it. Just as the Bishop's horse was within a few feet of the chasm a flash of lightning showed it to him, and, at the same time, revealed a few yards on the hotel where he was to stop. A few seconds more, and without doubt the Bishop and his man, who was with him, would have been instantly killed but for that flash of lightning.

After this hairbreadth escape our experiences were entirely pleasant; we had no more rain for the rest of the trip, and the weather was perfect all through. We shot all the ducks, geese, and prairie chickens we could use, also some swans and a black bear. The Bishop had brought with him a shot-gun and a rifle, but he never fired a shot. One of my men, Joseph Monkman, junior, who was commonly called "Foolish Joe," cooked for the Bishop and looked after the tent in which he camped on the way, and a better man for that kind of work could not have been got anywhere; he had had a large experience in similar work for gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Bishop was so pleased with him that he took him along in the same capacity in the following winter when he made his first Visitation by dog-sleigh. Every night of our trip the Bishop read a portion of Scripture, sang a hymn, and said a prayer. I remember the first night in camp he read and expounded the First Psalm.

Our progress was slow, so when we were about fifty miles south of Pembina, a post on the international frontier where the United States had a detachment of troops, and the Bishop showed some anxiety to get along faster, I took a horse and light waggon, with enough provisions to see us home, and leaving the rest of the party to follow more leisurely, pushed on with the Bishop who was driving his own horse and carriage. At noon, on October 12, the day after we left the others, we reached the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina on the British side of the frontier, where we found fresh horses. In the course of the next day, October 13, we crossed the Assiniboine River, passed under the walls of Fort

Garry, and through the little hamlet rising round the Fort, now the great and growing city of Winnipeg.

When we arrived at St. John's, two or three miles from the Fort, we were welcomed by the ringing of bells from the tower of the Cathedral, and two of his clergy, the Rev. Abraham Cowley, a C.M.S. missionary (afterwards Archdeacon of Cumberland), and the Rev. W. H. Taylor, a missionary of the S.P.G., warmly greeted their Bishop, who, finding that Bishop's Court had been repaired and made habitable, took up his abode there. Some days later the rest of our party came in, bringing the goods and chattels which the Bishop had conveyed with him from the old country. I can remember the first sermon the Bishop preached; his text was, "He that winneth souls is wise."

The fortnight's journey across the prairies had been very pleasant, and formed an agreeable initiation into life in the North-West. It had, however, been a somewhat costly trip—£125, but this sum included both travelling expenses and the transportation of the cases and boxes of supplies, books, and other articles that he had brought with him from England. When he reached the Settlement he found that he had spent the whole of his first year's income as Bishop, £700, on necessary things, their carriage to the country, and his travelling expenses. On taking up his residence at Bishop's Court he invited the Rev. W. H. Taylor, who was Incumbent of St. James's Church, to live with him for the winter as his Chaplain, and Mrs. Taylor also to manage the establishment. He at once took charge of the Cathedral parish of St. John, and performed all the duties in connection with it of a simple parish priest.

These opening days of his episcopate were darkened by sad news. As he came into the district he heard that Archdeacon Cochran, the leading clergyman in the

Diocese, who had spent forty years of incessant and successful missionary labour among the settlers and the Indians, had passed away at the beginning of the month, and the first letters he received on his arrival told him of the sudden death of the Rev. C. E. Oakley, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, whom he had appointed his Commissary a short time before leaving for Rupert's Land. He wrote to his friend, the Rev. T. T. Perowne, and asked him to take up the Commissaryship—to which request Mr. Perowne gladly consented as a "labour of love."

At this point it is convenient to give some account of Rupert's Land: first, as regards its history generally; and, second, as regards the history of the Church of England in Rupert's Land prior to the Bishop's arrival in the country, of which, by the way, Sheriff Inkster's narrative has already given some incidental glimpses, for the prairie regions of Minnesota and other adjacent states scarcely differ from those of Rupert's Land, the boundary between them being purely artificial.

The name of Rupert's Land has vanished from all save ecclesiastical maps, and to-day survives as a designation in common use, and that only over a restricted area, solely in the names of the Diocese and of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. The present Diocese, which includes the greater part of Manitoba, covers but a small portion of the original See; the Ecclesiastical Province, however, consists exactly of the old-time Rupert's Land. In 1670 Charles II. granted a charter to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay," by which they were given certain rights over an enormous extent of territory in North America. The

country was then practically *terra incognita*, but the royal Letters Patent decreed that it was to be "reckoned as one of the king's plantations and colonies in America called Rupert's Land," and the name was conferred upon it out of compliment to Prince Rupert, the gallant and dashing nephew of Charles I.

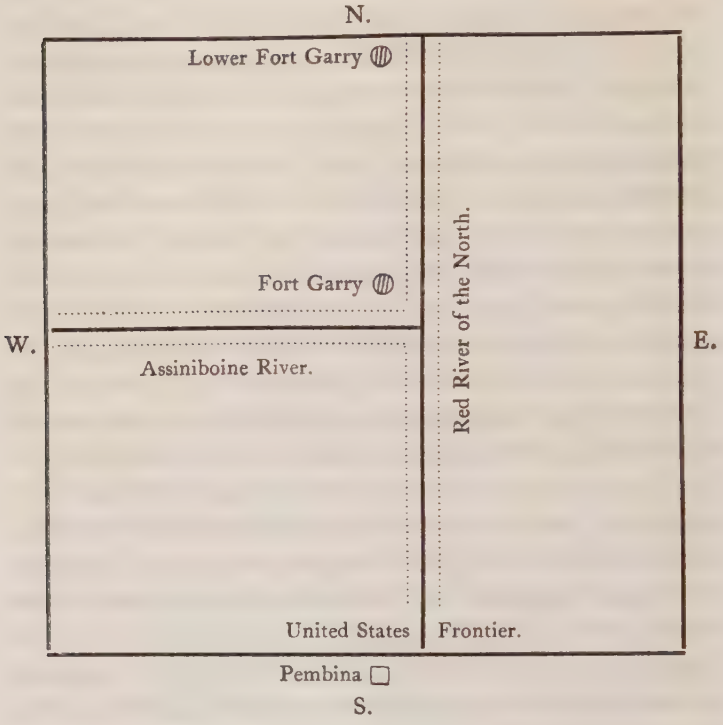
The "Adventurers" came to be known simply as the Hudson's Bay Company, and for two centuries they controlled, though not always without dispute, the whole of what is now the Dominion of Canada, with the exception of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces on the Atlantic seaboard, an area of about three million square miles. Their main business was the prosecution of the fur trade with the various tribes of Red Indians who inhabited the interior, but they also exercised judicial and administrative powers over the territory. In the course of time rival fur companies were formed, the principal being the North-West Company of Montreal, but after much bitter strife and some bloodshed the Hudson's Bay Company succeeded in destroying or absorbing all their competitors. As late as 1816 a battle was fought at Seven Oaks, the name of a piece of land just outside the city of Winnipeg, between the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the North-West Company, in which Governor Semple, the head of the former, was killed, while twenty-one of his followers were killed or wounded. The two companies were amalgamated a few years afterwards. It was, no doubt, in a way a fine, stirring, picturesque time, full of incident and colour.

Naturally enough the Hudson's Bay Company not only sought to destroy their rivals, but discouraged the formation of settlements as likely to be hostile to their interests as merchants and traders in

furs, the monopoly of which they maintained was their exclusive right. However, Thomas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, a Scottish nobleman and a large shareholder of the Company, got to know of the fertility of part of the country, and came to the conclusion to settle on the banks of the Red River of the North a number of Highland small farmers and peasants, who had been dispossessed of their holdings in Sutherlandshire. The project was carried out, and in 1812-14 the first settlers arrived in the district he had selected, and the settlement was known as the Selkirk Settlement. Other settlers of the same class followed, but for several years the story of the Settlement was one of disaster, owing partly to the feuds of the rival fur traders, partly to floods and plagues of grasshoppers or "locusts," and partly to its isolation from the rest of the world. After a time it became fairly prosperous.

The Selkirk Settlement was strung out for some miles on both the west and east banks of the Red River, which flows northwards into Lake Winnipeg, the most southerly of the farms being about three miles from Fort Garry, an important post of the Hudson's Bay Company, situated at the confluence of the Assiniboine River with the Red River. Some twenty miles lower down the latter stream stood another post of the Company, called Lower Fort Garry, also known as the Stone Fort. As time went on land was gradually taken up between the two forts by settlers other than the Selkirk settlers, and along the Assiniboine west of Fort Garry, and the Red River south of that fort, until one line of settlement, perhaps a hundred miles in length, lay within the northern angle formed by the junction of the two rivers, while a second and similar line was included within the

southern ; a third line stretched along the east bank of the Red River for some sixty miles or more. In the subjoined diagram the dotted lines represent the lines of settlement.



Red River Settlement.

To the comparatively small part of Rupert's Land thus colonised was given the general appellation of Red River Settlement. In 1835 it was organised by the Hudson's Bay Company for purposes of administration as the "District of Assiniboia," with a local Governor and Council. The Governor was the chief officer of the Company, and he had his headquarters at Fort Garry, which became the centre of the Settlement.

Earlier the North-West Company had had a post called Fort Douglas, about a mile away on the Red River, but on the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821 this post was abandoned, and Fort Garry was built, to be replaced by a much larger and stronger Fort Garry in 1835. The Council of Assiniboia was composed of fourteen of the leading clergy and laymen of the place, who were nominated by the Governor and not elected by the settlers. When Bishop Machray arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1865, Mr. William Mactavish, then Governor of Rupert's Land as well as of Assiniboia, at once appointed him a member of the Council.

For many years this system of government worked well enough, but as the population increased there were manifest signs that it was breaking down. The difficulty was that it had no adequate means of enforcing its decisions, and when criminals "broke gaol," as sometimes happened, there was no machinery for recapturing and punishing them. Finally, this state of things led to scandals which gravely compromised the central authority, and helped to make more serious and menacing the Rebellion which broke out shortly before the close of the Hudson's Bay Company's régime. Besides, men accustomed to elect their own representatives came into the Settlement and excited discontent with the manner in which the Council was chosen.

In 1835 the population of the Settlement was about five thousand; by 1865 it had grown to about eleven or twelve thousand, of which number only a few hundreds were of pure white extraction, the rest being English, Scotch, or French half-breeds—people with some proportion of Indian blood in their veins. In addition to the Selkirk settlers, the population of Assiniboia (which must not be confused with the later

Canadian Territory of the same name) consisted of retired officers and servants of the fur companies, and of other settlers who had come into the country from Canada, the United States, and Europe, to hunt and trap, to farm, or to "trade." Not a few of them were engaged in "freighting," that is, in the carriage of merchandise across the prairies in carts from one point to another, as, for instance, from St. Cloud in Minnesota to Fort Garry, a slow and toilsome occupation, and sometimes dangerous because of marauding Indians out on the war-path. In the neighbourhood of the Settlement, and within the Settlement itself, were several bands of Indians, mostly Crees and Assiniboines, and scattered over the whole of Rupert's Land there were many tribes, mostly nomadic within certain wide areas, their total numbers being estimated at 60,000. They lived by the chase, exchanging the skins of the animals they killed with the fur traders for guns, powder and shot, blankets, and other commodities.

The wise and paternal policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had made the Indians of Rupert's Land for the most part friendly to the whites and to the settlers in Red River. South of the international boundary, but yet close to the Settlement, a very different state of affairs prevailed. On the American side of the "Line,"—a line, an imaginary line is all the boundary is—there lived the fierce and warlike Sioux, who, only three years before Bishop Machray reached Red River, had perpetrated a series of frightful massacres, in which fifteen hundred Minnesota settlers were killed, after being subjected to indescribable tortures. In 1865 the Sioux were still a menace.

In the biography of Bishop Bompas, referred to in the first paragraph of this chapter, it is stated that

when Bompas and his party arrived at St. Cloud, a few weeks in advance of Bishop Machray, they were told that since the fearful Sioux massacres of 1862 "the people were in great dread all over the country," and they "found it impossible to get any one to convey them to Red River. After much trouble and delay they were forced to procure a conveyance for themselves. Before leaving St. Cloud they were told time and again to beware of the Indians, who were always prowling around." It was suggested to them that they should take some British flags with them, as the Sioux respected the Union Jack, and they accordingly bought some ; the rage of the Sioux was directed against the "Americans," not the English. And on their journey a band of Indians in full war-paint was seen in the distance, and one "brave" galloped forward towards them and reconnoitred, but when he saw the British ensign he rode off and rejoined the band of painted warriors, who thereafter quickly disappeared.

The inhabitants of the Red River Settlement lived in a very primitive, in almost a patriarchal fashion. Most of the heads of families had a long narrow strip of land fronting on one of the two rivers ; a few of the houses were of stone, all the rest were of wood—generally roughly-squared logs of oak or elm, with the interstices in the walls filled in with mud and lime. They cultivated no more of their land than was sufficient for their subsistence ; they had flocks and herds of no great size ; the inaccessibility of their country, and the absence of markets—the nearest in those days was hundreds of miles away from Fort Garry—deprived them of all inducement to attempt more than was absolutely necessary to support life in some sort of rude comfort. Near Fort Garry there

were a few houses and stores, chiefly of "Free Traders," as those were termed who were engaged in the fur trade in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, but Winnipeg can hardly be said to have come into existence when the Bishop reached Bishop's Court; there was not a butcher, baker, tailor, or shoemaker in the whole land, he wrote soon after his arrival. In the last years of his predecessor, Bishop Anderson, the isolation of the Settlement had become less; a stern-wheel, shallow, flat-bottomed steamer ran for a year or two on the Red River during summer, and regular communication was opened up with St. Paul in Minnesota. But the Sioux massacres drove the steamboat-men away, and interrupted the river traffic for several years, though afterwards the steamers once more appeared. In the early days of the Settlement communication with the outside world was so difficult and costly as to be almost impracticable. Once a year the Company's ships came into Hudson's Bay with goods and supplies from England, but these the Company mostly required for their own purposes, and, in any case, hundreds of miles of wilderness intervened between the Company's factory on Hudson's Bay and Fort Garry in the Red River Settlement.

And if it was difficult for any one or anything to get into the country, it was practically impossible for any one or anything to get out of it, unless the Company were willing; and the Company, not being general carriers, were never too willing. Ingress and egress became easier only when the American trans-continental lines of railway were being constructed; but the nearest, as has been seen, was more than four hundred miles to the south of Fort Garry as late as 1865. In such a community there could be no great wealth,

but the people were, on the whole, happy and contented. Where the French element predominated there was greater liveliness of disposition, where the English or Scotch greater intelligence; but, speaking generally, the settlers got on very well together, with much freedom of intercourse and profuse exchange of hospitality, especially in the long, cold winters.

Among the instructions given by the Hudson's Bay Company to their officers was one to the effect that the Liturgy of the Church of England was to be read regularly at all posts of the Company, but for a century and a half there were neither churches nor schools in Rupert's Land. In 1815 Governor Semple wrote: "I have trodden the burnt ruins of houses, barns, a mill, a fort, and sharpened stockades, but none of a place of worship, save on the smallest scale. I blush to say that throughout the whole extent of the Hudson's Bay territories no such building exists."

The first cleric to appear in the country was Père Messager, a French-Canadian priest, who in 1731 accompanied the Sieur Varennes de la Vérandrye into Rupert's Land, but he established no mission that endured; in 1818, however, two Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Provencher and Dumoulin, took up their permanent abode in the Settlement, and founded St. Boniface Mission on the Red River, on its east bank, about a mile and a half from Fort Garry. Four years later Provencher was made a Bishop, as auxiliary to the Bishop of Quebec; in 1844 Rupert's Land was detached from Quebec and became an independent See; a quarter of a century afterwards it was erected into an Archbishopric, the Archbishop of St. Boniface having several Bishops under him. These successive changes in the status of St. Boniface sufficiently indicate

the growth and development of the Roman Catholic Church in Rupert's Land. The Roman Catholics were almost entirely French half-breeds, a few were of pure French extraction, and the rest were of various nationalities ; in 1865 there were between five and six thousand Roman Catholics in the Red River Settlement in seven organised parishes, and they outnumbered, though very slightly, their Protestant neighbours.

The first clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. John West, came upon the scene in 1820, as Chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company and, at the same time, as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. The Company gave him a lot of land, several hundred acres in extent, some two miles from Fort Garry, and on it he built a small church and a small school, which, in the course of years, developed into St. John's Cathedral and St. John's College respectively. Mr. West visited some of the Company's forts in the interior and attempted to evangelise the Indians, but his work was mainly at St. John's, where his congregation was composed of the Company's officers and servants, the English and English half-breed settlers, and the Scottish settlers who belonged to the Selkirk Settlement ; the last named were all Presbyterians, and never really became members of the Church of England, though they did not succeed in getting a Presbyterian Minister for themselves until 1851. The district occupied by the Selkirk settlers had now come to be called Kildonan, after the name of the parish in the Scottish Highlands from which most of them had emigrated ; the area south of it, including Fort Garry, formed St. John's parish, from the name Mr. West gave to his little church, and is now the main site of Winnipeg.

Mr. West's church was the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion in Rupert's Land, and holds, therefore, a relation to it somewhat similar to that held by Canterbury to England; as time rolled on, the position of St. John's as the Mother Church of all Rupert's Land became more and more accentuated.

Mr. West retired from Red River in 1823, and was succeeded by the Rev. D. Jones, a C.M.S. missionary. On his being appointed Chaplain of the Company, the C.M.S. sent out in 1825 another missionary, the Rev. W. Cochran, who afterwards became Archdeacon of Assiniboia. Mr. Jones founded St. Paul's parish, immediately north of Kildonan, and Mr. Cochran St. Andrew's, north of St. Paul's. By 1831 there were the three parishes—St. John's or "Upper Church," St. Paul's or "Middle Church," and St. Andrew's or "Lower Church," each with a church of its own. Mr. Cochran was a man of decided ability, and quickly became a personage in the Settlement; as has been said of him, he was at one and the same time "minister, clerk, schoolmaster, arbitrator, peacemaker, and agricultural director." To him was due the first real aggressive missionary effort among the Indians; in 1833 he established St. Peter's Mission in an Indian settlement on the Red River, some twenty-five miles north of Fort Garry; he not only Christianised these Indians, but civilised them. After two years and a half of incessant labour he was able to write of "twenty-three little whitewashed cottages shining through the trees, each with its column of smoke curling up to the skies, and each with its stacks of wheat and barley. . . . It is but a speck in the wilderness, and the stranger might despise it, but we who know the difficulties that have attended

the work can truly say that God has done great things, were it only that these sheaves of corn have been raised by hands that hitherto had only been exercised in deeds of blood and cruelty to man and beast."

St. Peter's is now a flourishing Indian parish with a large church, four out-chapels, schools, and a parsonage. In 1840 a mission was begun at Cumberland in the interior among the Cree Indians, its minister, the Rev. Henry Budd, himself an Indian, having been trained at the school founded at St. John's by Mr. West. A year afterwards the C.M.S. sent out another missionary, the Rev. Abraham Cowley, who later became Archdeacon of Cumberland; soon after his arrival in the country he established a successful mission among the Saulteaux Indians at Fairford on the shores of Lake Manitoba.

As yet there was no spiritual overseer, no Bishop in Rupert's Land, but the C.M.S. arranged in 1844 that the Settlement should receive a Visitation from Dr. G. J. Mountain, Bishop of Montreal, who, after a journey of 1800 miles, mostly by canoe, arrived in Red River in June of that year. Bishop Mountain found four churches—St. John's, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, and St. Peter's—attended by 1700 persons, and nine schools with 485 scholars; he confirmed 846 persons, and 454 "communicated" at the Services he held, almost daily, among the settlers. It will be observed that from the beginning the Church of England in Rupert's Land has two aspects: one may be termed colonial, referring to ministrations in settled communities; and the other missionary, concerned with work amongst the Indians; but even in the settled communities the activities of the clergy were largely

of a missionary character, and continued to bear that complexion for a considerable period.

Six years before the coming of Bishop Mountain into Red River, Mr. James Leith, an Aberdeenshire gentleman who had been a chief factor or principal officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, bequeathed £12,000 ($60,000) to be expended for missionary purposes in Rupert's Land. The trustees under Mr. Leith's will obtained, after some time had passed, a decree of the Court of Chancery in England, by which the money was invested for the endowment of a Bishopric of Rupert's Land, the Judge who granted the decree being largely influenced by the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company bound themselves for ever to contribute £300 yearly to the Bishop's stipend in the event of such a Bishopric being established. The income from the Leith Bequest and the contribution of the Company together made up an annual income of £700.

The Bishopric was offered to and accepted by the Rev. David Anderson, a Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, and then Tutor of St. Bee's Theological College, Cumberland. He was consecrated at Canterbury on May 29, 1849; by the royal Letters Patent founding the See, the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being was declared Metropolitan of Rupert's Land; at that period the Archbishop held a similar relationship to all or most Colonial Bishoprics, and at present the See of Canterbury is still Metropolitan with respect to several Colonial and Missionary Bishoprics. Bishop Anderson reached Red River in October 1849, bringing with him a small band of missionary workers. He had intended to pass the winter in St. Andrew's parish, but on the very day of his arrival the Rev. J.

Macallum, who had carried on the school at St. John's for years under the name of the Red River Academy, passed away, and the Bishop at once took up his residence in St. John's, adding to his other duties the care of this school, and teaching in it himself. To this school he subsequently gave the name of St. John's College, desiring it to become a training college for the clergy and a higher school for laymen as well as boys; to popularise it he formed a College Board, but after some years, owing to the difficulty of procuring with the means at his disposal an adequate staff and other difficulties, he was compelled to close the College.

In 1850 the S.P.G. sent out its first representative in Rupert's Land to a new parish, that of St. James's, lying immediately west of St. John's along the Assiniboine River, where a small settlement had gradually grown up. A large part of this parish is now included in the city of Winnipeg. Two years later the Bishop visited Hudson's Bay, and at Moose Fort ordained to both the diaconate and the priesthood John Horden, a missionary of the C.M.S., who afterwards became the first Bishop of Moosonee, the Diocese first taken out of the original See of Rupert's Land. In 1853 a mission was established, under Cochran, then Archdeacon, at Portage la Prairie, some sixty miles from Fort Garry, up the Assiniboine, where a church was built and a parish formed. Three other parishes on the Assiniboine came into existence somewhat later—Holy Trinity or Headingley, St. Margaret's or High Bluff, and St. Ann's or Poplar Point; they lay between St. James's and Portage la Prairie.

In 1856 Bishop Anderson visited England, and secured funds for the building of a cathedral at St.

John's; the Hudson's Bay Company gave him £500 for this object, and the S.P.C.K. contributed a similar sum. Old St. John's was pulled down and the new building was erected according to plans the Bishop brought from England; the plans had to be reduced, and the structure was not an unqualified success owing to imperfect workmanship; the tower which adorned one end had eventually to be taken down, as, being built on an insufficient foundation, it came in time to lean heavily against the main fabric, which it strained to such an extent that gaping cracks appeared. The edifice was repaired and strengthened, and still serves, though very inadequately, as the Cathedral of the Diocese.

By 1864 Bishop Anderson had more than twenty clergy under him. Missions had been planted in the Far North at Fort Yukon, on the Mackenzie River at Fort Simpson, at York Factory and Albany as well as Moose on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and at various points in the interior—Fort Alexander, Nepowewin, Fort Ellice, Swan Lake, and English River, besides Cumberland and Fairford. The rest of the clergy acted as parish priests in the Red River Settlement. All of them, whether parish priests or missionaries, were supported by the English Church Societies; the C.M.S. maintained no fewer than seventeen, while the S.P.G. found stipends for two, and the C.C.C.S. also paid the stipends of two. The people of the country did little or nothing — practically nothing — for the maintenance of their clergy, but no persistent and systematic effort had been made to get the settlers to contribute towards it.

Bishop Anderson returned finally to England in 1864, resigning the See after an episcopate of fifteen

years. His people saw him go with deep regret; he was greatly esteemed and loved for his goodness and amiability; gentle and affectionate, he lived for others. His successor, in one of his first letters from Rupert's Land to the S.P.G., wrote of himself as "sharing Bishop Anderson's doctrinal views, and revering a self-devotion and self-sacrifice amid abounding vexations little known at home in England." After his resignation Dr. Anderson became Vicar of Clifton, and held that important charge till his death twenty years later. He not only continued to take the keenest interest in Rupert's Land, but was one of the ablest and most cordial supporters of all the plans and projects of Bishop Machray for the extension of the Church and the development of the See, his assistance being especially valuable with the Church Societies, and particularly at one or two critical periods, when his enthusiastic endorsement was of decisive importance, as, for instance, in the case of the first division of Rupert's Land in 1872-74. His congregation at his request sent yearly a contribution, which in the aggregate amounted to a large sum, to his old Diocese, and he rendered it good service in a variety of ways. He rejoiced greatly in the growth of the Church and of the country. At the first Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land, which was held at Winnipeg in 1875, a letter from him was read, in which, referring to this Synod, he said: "Too grateful I cannot be to Almighty God for having spared and permitted me to behold in the flesh and hear of so mighty a stride in what was as the wilderness, and which now in so many parts begins to bud and blossom."

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNINGS OF THINGS

1865–1867

Rupert's Land has been described by a generally well-informed Church writer as "the most uninviting Diocese on the face of the earth" at the time when Bishop Machray entered on his episcopate; but this sweeping characterisation was not wholly just. Red River Settlement was still isolated—its greatest drawback—among the long stretches of the plains of the North-West; but it was gradually becoming less inaccessible. The first missionary of the English Church to enter the country had taken five months' continuous travel from England to Red River, but the time necessary for the journey had now been shortened into six weeks or less. The great expense of the journey was the chief deterrent to settlement, and hardly less prejudicial was the absence of markets.

But the Bishop's earliest impressions of the country itself, seen in fine, clear, sunny, bracing October weather, must have been favourable; for at that season of the year the prairies, though clad in sober autumnal colours of mixed green, russet, and brown, are not without charm or interest. His Cathedral was only a plain, commonplace building, none too well constructed;

but it served its purpose sufficiently for the time. Though Bishop's Court was far from being an ideal residence, its situation was pleasing. It stood in the shelter of a grove of oaks, with a lawn in front sloping down to the river, and there was a large and productive garden. His first impressions, too, of the people must have been agreeable, for he was warmly greeted by the settlers, with whom, in any case, hospitality and geniality were instinctive graces. But they were delighted to have a bishop of their own amongst them again ; and all the chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the leading men of the Settlement called on him immediately after his arrival to bid him a most cordial welcome. His clergy soon became devoted to him, and remained devoted to him ; then, as in the after years, once they understood something of the nature of a man always a little shy and diffident at first, not facile in exchange of small talk, yet possessed of a keen sense of humour, but ever kind, generous, open-handed beyond expression and large-minded alike in the trifling and in the great things of life, they followed him with a whole-heartedness, with an enthusiasm which in not a few rose into a passion.

On the other hand, however, it is true that there was much in the Diocese that called, and called very decidedly, for alteration and amendment—much that needed the guiding hand and brain of the overseer and organiser. From the beginning he perceived that, as he wrote to the S.P.G., he "would have a great deal to struggle with," and that, at least for a time, his "work would be heavy and uphill." An Evangelical, he was yet a strong Churchman who loved the Church, and, to quote from one of his letters, "saw no way of doing things better than that which she has directed."

St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg.

Bishop's Court, St. John's, Winnipeg.

It was, therefore, very painful to him to see that there was a marked lack of Churchmanship and of Church feeling in Red River Settlement. This was an inheritance from the days when the Selkirk settlers, who were Presbyterians, had attended the services of the English Church in St. John's, and to please whom, after a selection of prayers from the Prayer Book had been read, there was what was practically a full Presbyterian service. As the Bishop pointed out, this "medley," though embodying a concession given with the best intentions, "could never win the Presbyterians to the Liturgy of the Church of England—so attractive when worthily and faithfully expressed."

In 1851 the majority of the Selkirk settlers seceded from St. John's, when a Presbyterian minister was appointed to Kildonan; but as late as 1865 the whole district served by the Church of England was leavened with Presbyterianism. The Bishop determined on insisting that his people should be distinctively Church people, and at once set about forming plans with that purpose in view. The celebrations of Holy Communion had been infrequent; even in St. John's Cathedral there were not more than four or five a year. He began by ordering that there should be celebrations at least once a month in St. John's. And there had been no Services on the Festival days of the Church; he now directed that these should be held. Similar instructions were issued to all the clergy of the Diocese. There had been no Church music, no choirs, no chanting, nor organ or musical instrument used in the Services; the Bishop hoped that all this state of things would soon be changed, and he enjoined on his clergy to do their utmost to bring a change about.

Then there was little or no organisation of the

parishes in the Settlement. He advised that each parish should be organised under its Incumbent with a Vestry, consisting of two churchwardens, one for the clergyman and one for the people, and of four vestrymen, who were to be elected by the votes of the male communicants. He suggested that the offertory should be a feature of every Service, but that this innovation should be introduced gradually, as the congregations were unused to the principle of contributing to the support of their clergy, and, besides, the Settlement as a whole was poor and living was dear. By the end of November the Bishop had the satisfaction of seeing monthly celebrations, as well as the offertory, established in most of the parishes. The next step was the greatest of all, but to his mind it grew logically out of what had gone before. The people were now being trained in systematic giving to the Church for Church purposes, but mainly for their own support as Churchmen.

The Bishop realised that he could not expect to bring out this self-support to the fullest extent save on the democratic basis of self-government; and, accordingly, he proposed to hold a Conference, which might become a Synod, of the clergy and laity of the Diocese, the lay representatives being elected by the male communicants of the parishes. First, he called a meeting of the local clergy, six in number at the time, on December 5, at Bishop's Court, at which he strongly urged the views he entertained on Church matters within the Settlement, especially with reference to the encouragement of the congregations in self-support. Then he announced his intention of calling for the following spring a Conference of the clergy and laity of the whole Diocese, so far as that was possible in

the circumstances, for the purpose of considering and deliberating on its affairs. He also spoke of the schools in the country, and of his determination to bring St. John's College to life again.

He had already fixed his attention on the state of education in Red River; in his eyes religion and education went hand in hand. Nothing in the condition of the Settlement grieved him more than the unsatisfactory position of its educational facilities. With the exception of a boarding-school in St. Paul's parish, kept by its clergyman, the Rev. S. Pritchard (uncle of Dr. Matheson, the present Archbishop of Rupert's Land), which was attended by some of the children of the better class in the community, the only schools were two or three parish schools of a very elementary sort maintained as part of their general missionary enterprise by the C.M.S. There was no provision whatever in the whole country for higher education. The Bishop's thoughts had at once turned to a revival of St. John's College. His predecessor, Bishop Anderson, at great personal cost and trouble, had struggled for some years to maintain the College, but in the end had been forced to abandon it. Bishop Machray, on surveying the situation in his Diocese, wrote to Prebendary Bulloch of the S.P.G. on November 10, 1865: "I believe that the whole success of my efforts here will depend, under God, upon the success of what I purpose—to establish a College for the training of those who wish a better education, in the fear of God, in useful learning, and in conscientious attachment to our Church."

The College which he outlined was to consist of a Theological School for the training of candidates for Holy Orders and of Indian catechists, and a Higher

School for the Red River Settlement. Such a College, he said, would strengthen his hands and the Diocese. "The hearts of the clergy here are almost fainting within them from the discouragements with which they meet, and I am confident there will be no health and life till some such institution as I have indicated shall be established." The nearest Canadian Church College, that of Huron, was a thousand miles away. The Church in Rupert's Land must educate its own clergy, and the sooner the College was started the better. The Bishop's brooding mind dwelt on this idea, and he cast about for some suitable man to place at the head of the proposed College, and for the funds to maintain it. For the first, his thoughts reverted to the old friend of his Aberdeen University days, John M'Lean, then Curate of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, in the Diocese of Huron, under Bishop Hellmuth ; for the second, he appealed to the English Church Societies. "This may one day be a very great country," he wrote. "Let the Church have a good start." A year passed, however, before St. John's College was opened.

What so far has been said in this chapter applies to the small, inconsiderable part of Rupert's Land known as Red River Settlement, rather than to the whole Diocese, which was then the largest in the world, with an area more extensive than that of Europe. Several of the missions were an enormous distance from Bishop's Court ; roughly speaking, that at Fort Yukon was 2500 miles, and that at Fort Simpson 2000 miles from Red River. They had never received an episcopal Visitation, and when the Bishop learned on good authority that a visit to these far-off stations entailed two years' absence from the Settlement, he

felt that it was impossible for him to go. These missions lay at the extreme north and north-west of the Diocese.

The missions, however, on Hudson's Bay, on the extreme east of the Diocese, presented no insuperable difficulties in the way of Visitations, although two of them, Moose Factory and Fort Albany, were some 1200 miles from Red River, and the third, York Factory, was 800 miles. Of the interior missions, that on English River was 700 miles distant. The only way of reaching one and all of these missions was to travel to them slowly and laboriously by the routes opened up by the Hudson's Bay Company, mainly by boat and canoe on the rivers and lakes in summer, and dog-sleigh or cariole across the snow and ice in winter —the same methods as those employed by the officers and servants of the Company, and any other were impracticable. All these missions were located at or near forts or posts of the Company; but while the missionaries acted as chaplains at these places, their chief work was amongst the Indians or, on the north-east of Hudson's Bay, the Eskimo. Nearly all the tribes spoke different languages or dialects, and had different customs and traits. By 1865 several bands of Indians had come under the influence of Christianity, but the vast bulk of the Indian population still was heathen. With the exception of one mission, that at Fort Ellice, which was supported by the S.P.G., every one of the missions was maintained by the C.M.S. The Indians, nearly everywhere, were thriftless and improvident — feasting to repletion when game was plentiful, starving and dying when there was little, or, as sometimes happened, none.

"The Indians," the Bishop wrote to the S.P.C.K.

about this time, "have absolutely nothing belonging to them, the blankets they wear, and the ammunition they live by, being commonly received in advance for future payment in the furs of the animals they kill." In not a few cases the Indians had been demoralised by drink—the "fire-water" being given them by the "Free Traders," and not by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose officers were forbidden to sell alcoholic liquors to the aborigines. In his frequent letters to the C.M.S. the Bishop referred to the difficulties attendant on mission work among the Indians, not so much because they were difficulties, but rather as incentives to more steady, energetic, and courageous effort; yet the difficulties were very real and very great.

In November, six weeks after his arrival, the Bishop had planned a first Visitation into the interior. He set out upon it in January; but before starting, he sent a letter to each mission within reach, summoning the Conference of clergy and laity he had already announced to some of his people. Each parish and mission was to elect two lay delegates, and the Conference was set for May 30, 1866. Meanwhile he had visited every parish in the Settlement, and preached in every church, driving to them, once the winter had set in and snow covered the ground, in that species of sleigh which is known as a "cutter." The intense cold of the country in winter has often been written about, but he suffered very little inconvenience from it. He rarely mentions it in his letters, thinking, no doubt, that what other men faced without special remark in the ordinary course of their business called for no special remark from a Bishop engaged on the highest service of all.

The parishes having now been ordered more in accordance with his mind, and everything promising fair, he set out from Bishop's Court on January 11, 1866, travelling across the snow-clad prairies by dog-cariole—the sleighs for himself and his attendants, as well as the "trains" of dogs, having been furnished by the Hudson's Bay Company, who forwarded the Visitation of their Grand Chaplain by every means in their power, even to the extent of presenting him with the rations given to their chief officers when on a journey, these supplies including delicacies, wine, and brandy. He made a sort of circular tour of eight weeks in the central west of his Diocese, the whole distance gone over considerably exceeding a thousand miles. He visited and held Confirmations at twelve stations, beginning at Westbourne, a short distance from the parish of St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie, and then on to Fairford on Lake Manitoba, whence he proceeded to Swan Lake, Cumberland, and Nepowewin, in what is now the Canadian Province of Saskatchewan, the last-named mission being near the present town of Prince Albert. From Nepowewin he returned to Red River by Touchwood Hills, Qu'Appelle Lakes, and Fort Ellice. Of this Visitation the Bishop said in his Address to his first Conference :

> We slept during seventeen nights by the camp fire in the open air. But the perfect comfort of this, when proper arrangements are made, although the thermometer may be lower than 40 degrees below zero, is surprising to a traveller who first experiences it. At other times we slept in an old deserted log-house or an Indian tent. The solitariness of the interior must be felt to be realised. During the whole journey we scarcely saw a dozen Indians in all, excepting those we met with in the immediate neighbourhood of a fort or mission station.

At Fairford and at the Pas, Cumberland, there were congregations of upwards of a hundred at both Morning and Evening Service, but the bulk of the Indians, even at these stations, were away in their hunting grounds. There were forty-eight communicants at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at the Pas. The offertory had been commenced there, and more than £3 was paid into my hands, being the first payment from the country to the Diocesan Fund. At Touchwood Hills, Assiniboia, I found a congregation of upwards of fifty. In other places I found but few Indians—they were scattered throughout the country, and are so always, with the exception of a few weeks twice each year. The difficulty of missionary work is therefore very great.

He went on to state that he could not always speak well of these Indian missions; there was no great spirituality to be observed in some of them, and there was a good deal of drinking prevalent. But from all he had seen, he had come to the conclusion that missionary work was hard in "this peculiarly situated country, and must be a very patient work, calling for much prayer and perseverance and faith." But there was some undoubted success, and there was the promise of more; he had confirmed 155 candidates. Writing, after his return, to the S.P.C.K., he said he had enjoyed the best of health on his trip, and had come back safe and sound. He had found numbers of Indians who professed Christianity, and their attendance on the means of grace was good; but, on the other hand, there was very little teaching of the young throughout the missions, and he observed a great lack of books. One thing more than all others had been impressed upon him, and this was that the College he had in his mind was an absolute necessity for the training of the clergy and the interests of higher education; it "was the greatest boon that could be conferred on the country."

For himself, he was determined to start the College as soon as possible, and to help it he expressed his willingness to take part in its theological teaching, and, if necessary, a share in its general course of instruction. Soon after his return to Red River he began to move in the matter. The first object was to secure suitable premises. Bishop Anderson had bought with a grant from the S.P.C.K. two houses for a College, one of which was now in ruins, but the other could be rendered serviceable. Buildings of a temporary nature, sufficient for immediate needs, must, however, be erected. He had written to M'Lean, giving a full account of his plans, and inviting him to come as Warden of the College. He now proposed to Mr. Pritchard to give up the boarding-school at St. Paul's, and to amalgamate it with St. John's College, Mr. Pritchard coming to St. John's as one of the tutors or masters in the new venture; an arrangement to this effect was speedily arrived at for the ensuing autumn.

A week before the Conference the Bishop held an Ordination, the first in Rupert's Land during his episcopate; a missionary was advanced from the diaconate to the priesthood, and a catechist became a deacon. When the Conference met on May 30, 1866, there were present the Bishop, ten clergy, and eighteen lay delegates from the parishes and missions. Seven of the clergy came from the Settlement, and three from the interior; the former were the Rev. Abraham Cowley, St. Peter's and St. Clement's — the latter a parish which had been established between St. Peter's and St. Andrew's; the Rev. J. P. Gardiner, St. Andrew's; the Rev. S. P. Pritchard, St. Paul's, all on the Red River: the Rev. W. H. Taylor, St. James's; the Rev.

H. Cochran, Headingley ; the Rev. J. Chapman, High Bluff and Poplar Point (two parishes) ; and the Rev. Henry George, Portage la Prairie, all on the Assiniboine : the latter were the Rev. J. Settee (an Indian), Swan Lake ; the Rev. T. Cook, Fort Ellice ; and the Rev. R. Phair, Fort Alexander. They constituted a majority of the clergy, then eighteen in number in Rupert's Land, of the whole Diocese ; two of the clergy were in England on leave of absence ; it was impossible for representatives to come from the farthest-off missions, such as those on Hudson's Bay or on the borders of the Arctic.

The Bishop had pondered deeply what form the Conference should assume, and he had resolved to follow the example set by the Bishops in Canada—it must be remembered that Rupert's Land at this period was not included in "Canada" ; this was to have full Morning Service with a sermon and a celebration of the Holy Communion, while the actual assembling of the clergy and laity for deliberative purposes took place afterwards. The Service was held in St. John's Cathedral in the morning, the sermon being preached by Mr. Gardiner of St. Andrew's from 1 Peter ii. 5, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." The Bishop was the celebrant, assisted by Mr. Cowley. After the Service the Bishop entertained the members of the Conference at luncheon in Bishop's Court ; in the afternoon they all met in St. John's parish schoolhouse.

The chief business of the Conference was the Bishop's Address, and the taking of such action as he proposed in it. The Bishop began by expressing his hope that the Conference was a first step to a Synod ; a Synod was, he believed, in their position a necessity. A Synod

was not a new thing in America, though there was nothing of the kind in England. Synods were in full and successful operation both in the United States and in Canada, where the laity had a voice in the affairs of the Church. And in Rupert's Land the laity must also have a voice. As to the precise form their Synod should take, he advised that the Constitutions of the Canadian Synods should be studied, and recommended that the Conference should appoint a committee for that purpose. He referred to his anxiety that the congregations in his Diocese should become self-supporting, and enunciated the principle that self-support involved self-government within the Church. He spoke with regret of the absence of any endowments for the Church—there was none, save for the Bishopric only, in Rupert's Land, but he was to make it his endeavour to start endowment funds which in the course of time would become of considerable value, and provide an income for various Church purposes.

He deplored the low state of education in the Settlement, and said that schools must be maintained in all the parishes and missions, but a higher school was necessary both for the training of the ministry and for higher education generally in the country. He proposed, therefore, to revive St. John's College, both as a theological seminary and as a higher school. He had gone fully into this matter with the English Church Societies, and had received much encouragement from them. He had asked the Rev. John M'Lean, a distinguished graduate of Aberdeen, to come as Warden of the College, and Mr. M'Lean had accepted the invitation; the C.M.S. had co-operated in this appointment by placing Mr. M'Lean on their staff of missionaries as theological tutor for their students in

the College, of whom they also undertook to supply the maintenance to the number of four or five.

After alluding to his recent Visitation into the interior of the Diocese, he announced that two Archdeaconries were to be formed—one, called Cumberland, was to include the missions he had just visited, while the other, which was to have the name of Assiniboia, was to cover Red River Settlement and some out-missions. He wound up his address with a characteristic warning; much organising work was going forward, but it must not be forgotten that "except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it." The clergy and laity adumbrated the views of their Bishop, elected a committee to inquire into the Constitutions of the Canadian Synods, and unanimously passed a motion to the effect that the College was essential to the efficient working of the Diocese. With the understanding that a Conference was to be called during the following year, this important meeting came to an end.

In the course of the Address the Bishop mentioned that since his arrival he had held one Ordination and eighteen Confirmations, with 380 confirmed, and had preached sixty-five times. The Address, together with various documents relating to the Diocese at this time, was afterwards published in England in a pamphlet which is of supreme interest to the Diocese for all time. One item deserves particular notice; it appears in the statistical reports, "For a chapel at Winnipeg Town, the Rev. J. Gardiner, £5."

In the summer of 1866 the Hudson's Bay Company held one of their annual councils at Norway House, a post situated on the north of Lake Winnipeg. Mr. Mactavish, the Governor of Rupert's Land, attended it as chairman of the Company, and the Bishop, shortly

after the Conference of clergy and laity at St. John's, accompanied him from Fort Garry with the intention of going on from Norway House to York Factory, thus making a second Visitation in his Diocese. The Bishop was introduced to the various officers of the Company who were present at the council in some numbers, most of whom had come from remote parts of that portion of the country, and he spent a few days in their society. The Indians in the neighbourhood of Norway House and of Oxford House, a post of the Company lying farther north, had been Christianised by Wesleyan missionaries, to the excellence of whose work the Bishop testified, and with which, of course, he made no attempt to interfere. He held Services, however, for the officers of the Company.

Thereafter he travelled by boat down-stream to York, having a speedy and pleasant journey in spite of the troublesome and persistent attentions of the mosquito, which infests this region in incredible myriads. York Factory is situated on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and lies some 800 miles from Fort Garry. The mission was in charge of the Rev. W. Mason of the C.M.S., and the Bishop found the Indians to whom he ministered well behaved, and that many of them were able to read the Bible in their own language printed in "syllabic" characters. While at the Factory the Bishop held two Confirmations, at one of which there were more than fifty Indian candidates. The journey back to Red River being up-stream, was slow and tedious, and it was the middle of August before he was home again at Bishop's Court.

The Rev. John M'Lean arrived in the Settlement at the beginning of October, to the great delight and atisfaction of the Bishop, who was much attached to

him and held a firm belief in his capacity. In a letter addressed to Mr. Perowne, his Commissary, he wrote of M'Lean before his coming to Red River: "My heart is set on an old College friend. . . . I feel he would be quite a backbone to our whole system." The Bishop at once made him Archdeacon of Assiniboia and Warden of St. John's College, giving him at the same time the incumbency of St. John's Cathedral. The two men were a striking contrast in appearance—the Bishop very tall and still very thin, the Archdeacon short and stout. Able, energetic, and a hard worker, M'Lean was an eloquent preacher, an excellent teacher, and a fluent and clever extempore speaker on almost any occasion or subject. The Bishop found profit in discussing his views and schemes for the good of Rupert's Land with a man who was more on terms of equality with him than were any of the other clergy, and he also found much-needed relaxation, and a relief from the loneliness he must now and again have experienced in the midst of his many plans and preoccupations, in listening to his old-time comrade's anecdotes and amusing reminiscences of their Aberdeen days, all delivered with every point well brought out, for M'Lean had a prodigious memory and was a capital story-teller. But he had invited M'Lean to Red River mainly because of St. John's College, and it was upon it that the two men now concentrated their energies and thoughts.

The old and somewhat dilapidated schoolhouse at St. John's, which had been refitted and partially rebuilt, supplied class-rooms, and Archdeacon M'Lean took up his residence in a large neighbouring building, called St. Cross, which had long stood tenantless. House accommodation had been provided for Mr. Pritchard,

who soon moved up from St. Paul's with his boarders; as his entire services had henceforth to be devoted to the College, he resigned his parish, which the Bishop, now freed from parochial work at St. John's by the appointment of the Archdeacon to the Cathedral, took into his own hands, and he acted as its Incumbent for several years.

On November 1, 1866, St. John's College was opened,[1] there being three students in theology in the College proper, and nineteen pupils in the College school; it was a day of the beginnings of things in Rupert's Land in more senses than one. In January of the following year there were four theological students in residence, and the number of pupils in the College School had increased to twenty-six. In the College there were two theological tutors or lecturers, the Archdeacon and—the Bishop; in the School there were three masters, the Archdeacon, Mr. Pritchard, and —the Bishop; and from that time, for more than thirty years, the Bishop continued to take the most active participation in the College and College School in one capacity or another. In 1866-67 he lectured in Ecclesiastical History and Liturgiology, as well as in Mathematics, while the Archdeacon, besides teaching Latin and Greek, gave instruction in Systematic and Pastoral Theology; Mr. Pritchard's departments were those of English, Arithmetic, and Book-keeping.

The College School was organised, so far as it was possible, on the lines of an English public school, such as Westminster, which was subsequently taken as a model, and the Bishop hoped that its pupils would

[1] Prior to the opening of the College the Bishop had given lessons in Latin composition to three Red River boys—K. L. N. M'Donald (a brother of Archdeacon M'Donald), George Inkster, and Charles Mason—who came to Bishop's Court for the purpose several times each week.

in many instances go up from it to the College and become divinity students—as was the case as time went on. The great thing to the Bishop was that the institution which he desired had made a start, and he cherished a profound conviction that it would grow and flourish until it became a great power in the land. Meanwhile local interest had been aroused in the venture, which was largely one of faith, and an encouraging sign was the foundation of a scholarship of the annual value of £15, afterwards increased to £20, in memory of Archdeacon Cochran, the ablest of the missionary pioneers in the country. From this period, says Mr. Hargrave in his *Red River*, one of the earliest and most interesting of the histories of the locality, "the solitary precincts of St. John's Cathedral and St. John's College assumed an air of life and activity, and the Settlement again saw a public school working in its midst."

With the discharge of his episcopal duties, with the College and College School, and his parochial work in St. Paul's, the Bishop's hands were fairly full. Archdeacon Hunter had now definitely severed his connection with the Diocese, and the Bishop appointed to the vacant Archdeaconry of Cumberland the Rev. Abraham Cowley, who already held the important position of corresponding secretary, akin to that of local manager, of all the C.M.S. missions in Rupert's Land. For the benefit of his clergy, most of whom possessed but few books, the Bishop obtained from the S.P.C.K. grants of free sets of "Theological Libraries," and he also established a book depot. He had now spent a year in his Diocese, had become well acquainted with the country and its people, and understood the difficulties and trials which were peculiar to their situation.

The soil of the Settlement was extremely rich and fertile, but there were serious drawbacks. The crops had been partially destroyed by swarms of grasshoppers in 1865; there was always the danger of floods from the overflowing of the Red River and its affluent, the Assiniboine, in the spring with the breaking up of the three-foot-thick winter ice; in Bishop Anderson's time there had been two disastrous floods which had almost ruined the Settlement. But 1866 was a good year, with wheat yielding in many instances an average of forty bushels to the acre, on land that had received no "fertilising" treatment, though here and there, as in St. Paul's parish, the crops were poor; the Bishop accordingly ordered a Thanksgiving Service to be held throughout Red River. Meantime "Winnipeg Town" had been growing by accessions from the outside world as well as from the interior of Rupert's Land—an augury of future development. The Bishop informed the S.P.G., the Society above all others specially interested in Church extension in the Colonies, that he would "soon be trying to build a chapel in the little village of Winnipeg," and wished them to select for it a man of "decided Churchmanship, to be also, like myself, what is called Evangelical—he would then represent my own mind." He told the Society that the whole North-West "would be a great land if only it was peopled," thus hinting that they might be called on in the coming years to do a correspondingly great work in the Diocese.

How the country might develop politically was uncertain at this time; there was the possibility that it might become a Crown Colony, ceasing to be under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company, or that it might form a portion of Canada by the acquisition

of their rights from the Company by the newly founded Dominion, formed in 1867 by the union of the provinces of Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The Bishop thought and hoped that Rupert's Land would soon come into the Canadian Confederation, and that it would be speedily opened up by Canada for general settlement. He was certain that in one way or another it would be opened up before long, and that it would be peopled, and he threw all the force of his intellect into the solution of the problem this new state of things would present—the problem, as he expressed it, "How to hold the ground for the Church." But he had already found some part of the answer, so far as it was in his power to give it, in the organisation of the ecclesiastical machinery of the Diocese—in the archdeaconries and parish vestries, in the College and its School, and, most of all, in the democratic basis of the Conference of clergy and laity; other parts of the answer, to be noted in due course, came later in the subdivisions of the See and in the establishment of his College-Cathedral system.

The second Conference of clergy and lay delegates was held on May 29, 1867, at St. John's. As at the previous Conference, Service was held in the morning, with a celebration of the Holy Communion, in the Cathedral. Archdeacon M'Lean was the preacher, his text being the twelfth and thirteenth verses of Psalm xlviii., "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following." The Conference met in the afternoon in the schoolhouse, and consisted of the Bishop, eight clergy, and nineteen lay representatives

from the parishes and missions. In his opening Address the Bishop stated that it was now time to change the Conference into a Synod on a representative basis.

"For myself," he said, "I have no hope for the health and life of a young struggling Church like ours, which has no endowments, but in a free interchange of the thoughts and views of its members. If we can but make such a meeting as the present beat with life, it will be like the heart sending forth the life-blood into all the members and extremities of the body." Having expressed his wish and intention that no presbyter in the Diocese should have a stipend of less than £150 yearly, he spoke at length of the need of a general Diocesan Fund formed by endowments, and announced that he had started a Diocesan Clergy Widows and Orphans' Fund, to which he invited donations and contributions. He adverted to the revival of St. John's College and its success; the spirit which inspired the College was seen in its motto, "In thy light shall we see light," "the most happy motto of the earlier institution." But the College needed endowments, and first of all an endowment of the Warden's Chair of Theology must be procured. The present College buildings were inadequate, and must shortly be replaced by larger and better. He had drawn up a Constitution and Statutes for the College, determining its government, founding two professorships, and defining its sphere of work within the Diocese. Then he referred to his second Visitation and other episcopal labours. Between Easter 1866 and Easter 1867 he had preached 105 times, held two Ordinations, delivered eighteen addresses at Confirmations, and had frequently officiated at baptisms,

marriages, and funerals, besides taking an active share in the theological and general instruction in the College and College School; he had also had the spiritual oversight in person of a parish, first St. John's, and then St. Paul's.

He alluded to the Lambeth Conference, which, in the following September, was to meet for its first session, but stated that he was not to attend it, having so recently left England. When the Bishop had finished his Address, it was proposed by Archdeacon M'Lean, seconded by a lay delegate, Mr. W. Drever of St. James's, and carried unanimously, "That this Conference do hereby resolve itself into a Synod, to be called the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land." A standing committee was appointed, and the Conference was dissolved. Like the former Address, the Bishop's Address at the second Conference was published in England, together with other Rupert's Land documents, amongst them being "The Constitution and Statutes of St. John's College." Included in the statistics is the following note: "About £170 has also been raised for a new church in the town of Winnipeg, which is in St. John's parish, £48 of this being from a sale of ladies' work, £20 from the S.P.C.K., and £25 from the Bishop."

The summer of 1867 passed by without event, but towards the end of August the Settlement was devastated by grasshoppers. "The whole land," the Bishop wrote, "is literally covered with them; every green thing is being eaten up." Part of the wheat crop was saved, but all the fields of oats and barley were entirely destroyed. This was discouraging enough, but the Bishop knew that as the country filled up with people the grasshoppers would disappear, and

he felt sure that people would soon come into the country in large numbers. He looked south of the Settlement, and saw the rising tide of immigration in the western American States. Writing to Prebendary Bulloch, he said: "The neighbouring district of Minnesota is growing wonderfully. Emigrants pour into it at the rate of a thousand a day, and chiefly in this direction. The land in that State is being surveyed into farms up to within seventy miles of us. I believe a very few years will bring the population up to us." And he went on to ask, "How is the Church to meet the wants of that time? Will everything then have to be set on foot? A little timely help now by Churchmen to the College here and the strengthening of this missionary centre would solve the matter as satisfactorily as has been done by the American Church in Minnesota and elsewhere. Let it be remembered by the Church at home that the small body of people at present here is but the beginning of a great population in the future." Two or three months later he wrote: "Canada is asking for the transference of this country to her from the Hudson's Bay Company, with the intention of opening up roads—this will hasten on that great future which is inevitable."

In 1867 the Dominion began the construction of a road, known as the "Dawson Route," from the western shore of Lake Superior towards Fort Garry. This was before the crystallisation of the schemes for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but negotiations had been begun with the Imperial Government which had for their object the acquisition of Rupert's Land by Canada. The Bishop saw no cause for more than passing discouragement in the unfortunate condition of the Settlement from the plague of grasshoppers; on

the other hand, he saw reasons in the Diocese for rejoicing. The people, despite their comparative poverty, were taking kindly to the new measures he had introduced; over £1000 had been raised locally in offertories and subscriptions to Church objects since he had called upon the congregations to adopt, in a practical way, the principle of self-support. The College and College School were prospering, there being some forty students and pupils at the commencement of the second year of these institutions—more than double the number with which they had started in 1866—necessitating an immediate appeal for funds for the erection of new buildings for their accommodation. And there was no doubt that the country was growing, as was seen in the case of Winnipeg, which took on more and more the aspect of a town. The Bishop had already asked the S.P.G. to send him a man for Winnipeg, but as none came, Archdeacon M'Lean, in the middle of December 1867, began to hold Services on the Sunday evenings in a hall, sometimes used as a theatre, in the rising village which has since become the capital of the North-West.

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST DEVELOPMENTS

1868–1869

"WANTED a man who will passionately enter into the growth and progress of the Church here," wrote the Bishop early in 1868 to the Secretaries of the S.P.G. From one cause or another several of the missionaries, including Mr. Taylor, his Chaplain, the Incumbent of St. James's, had left Rupert's Land, and their places had not been filled; it was not easy to get men; by and by St. John's College supplied, to some extent at least, a ministry trained in the Diocese and possessed of a knowledge of its requirements, but that time had not yet come. With his eyes fixed on the tide of settlement ever rising higher and higher in the south, now that a line of railway connected St. Paul in Minnesota with New York—when the Bishop went to the North-West in 1865 he had had to travel part of the way to St. Paul by river-steamer—he foresaw more and more clearly the coming growth and progress of the country, and he cried for men to be sent out to him from England who would be equal to the great opportunity thus presented—men who, in his strong phrase, would passionately enter into the corresponding growth and progress of the Church. He appealed

again for a man for Winnipeg, "which begins to grow and get shops," and in which a church was to be built in the spring. The winter passed, however, without news of a clergyman being sent for this mission, and he wondered why.

It occurred to him that, as he was hardly known in England outside of Cambridge, his personal influence was insufficient to obtain what the Diocese needed; if that were the case, he felt that he was not the Bishop Rupert's Land required at this crisis in its history. In May, in a further appeal to the S.P.G., he wrote: "Sometimes, when I feel a deep sense of all that might be done here by one who could bring to the Diocese some extraneous help, I feel inclined to resign." But he found comfort and fresh strength and confidence in his College, with its forty students and boys; in a letter to the C.M.S., also appealing for men, written at this time, he spoke of it as "the bright spot" in the Diocese, and its "hope."

In the meantime he had been maturing his plans. After much care and consideration—for he was a man who always "hastened slowly"—he had drawn up a Constitution of the Synod of Rupert's Land, which he submitted, first of all, to the C.M.S. and the other Societies that subsidised the Diocese, for friendly criticism, as he thought it was essential to secure their sympathy and approval, not only because they supplied the funds, but because at this period Synods were rather looked on with suspicion by the Evangelical party in England. He also proposed to hold a third Visitation —on this occasion of the missions on the shores of that part of Hudson's Bay which is known as James Bay, entailing a long and arduous journey of many hundreds of miles of difficult and fatiguing travel in the interior.

But before he set out on it, the Settlement was again ravaged and well-nigh overwhelmed by grasshoppers, which devoured every green thing, and the people were threatened with famine, as the young growing crops were utterly destroyed. The calamity deeply tried the tender heart of their Bishop, but he looked forward hopefully to the time when the plague would for ever disappear from the land, and entreated the settlers not to lose courage. He issued a form of prayer to be used in the churches beseeching Almighty God that the plague might be lifted from the country. He would have remained in Red River through this anxious time, but arrangements had already been made by letter with the missionaries on James Bay, and the Visitation could not be cancelled or deferred without putting them to serious inconvenience. Years had passed since Bishop Anderson had visited these missions, and Bishop Machray knew that a postponement now would cause great disappointment.

The enormous development of which Canada has been the gigantic theatre during the last twenty years has left Moose Factory and the other mission stations on James Bay untouched, so that to-day they are almost as isolated as they were half a century ago ; the easiest and best way still of reaching them is by ship from England. The Bishop, in 1868, had to get at them by a very roundabout route from Red River. Leaving St. John's on May 16, he went by steamer down the Red River to a place called Georgetown, from which he drove "by team," which, in this case, was in a waggon drawn by two mules, to Fort Abercrombie, and thence by stage to St. Cloud, which was reached in three days after leaving the Fort. From St. Cloud he proceeded by rail to St. Paul. All along

river and road he noted the upspringing of settlements in farms and villages, and saw how much the country had developed in population since he had travelled through it scarcely three years previously ; he felt once more that it could not be long before the advancing tide of humanity would send its first waves into Rupert's Land, and his soul was filled with solicitude and deep-brooding thought.

From St. Paul he diverged to Faribault, where the Bishop of Minnesota, Dr. Whipple, known throughout the United States as the "Apostle of the Indians," had his Cathedral and residence. He spent some delightful days with Bishop Whipple, who showed him the beautiful Cathedral, the College, and other institutions that had been brought into existence very recently at Faribault through the generosity of American Churchmen ; he had the natural wish that his own diocesan work might meet with similar support from England. Much he talked with Bishop Whipple of the expected immigration into Rupert's Land, and of the best methods of coping with it in the interests of the settlers themselves and of the Church. He heard how the "American Church," as they termed the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, had in each diocese of the West established a strong missionary collegiate centre, from which clergy were despatched wherever and whenever opportunity offered, and he remembered and applied in after years what he heard. Bishop Whipple, with the accents of profound regret, said that their organisation had come somewhat late into the field, and as a consequence much ground had been lost and could hardly be recovered. Bishop Machray resolved that, if possible, his organisation should be ready in advance, and that, if it rested with

him, not an inch of ground should be lost in Rupert's Land. Before quitting Faribault he gave the American Bishop a warm invitation to pay him a visit in Red River Settlement, and Bishop Whipple promised that he would.

Returning to St. Paul in the beginning of June, he went on by rail to Milwaukee on Lake Michigan, where he called on Dr. Atkinson, Bishop of Michigan, by whom he was shown over Racine College, a flourishing Church institution with over 200 students. Next day he resumed his journey northwards, halting at Nashotah to see Bishop Kemper of Wisconsin, and Nashotah House, the missionary College of the American Church in the West. By way of Escanaba and Marquette he reached Sault Ste. Marie on Lake Superior on June 6, where he held Services on both the British and American sides of the frontier. At this place, popularly known as the "Soo," he had to remain for a week, at the end of which the Algoma steamer arrived and took him on to Michipicoton Harbour, on the north shore of the lake, where there was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and from which he was to travel to Moose Factory. Parenthetically it may be remarked that the journey from Winnipeg to Michipicoton can now be accomplished in a day by the Canadian Pacific Railway route. At Michipicoton he embarked in a canoe, with a crew of six men, for Moose Factory; his arrival there on June 26 was greeted with the firing of cannon by the officers of the Company and the flying of flags from every available point. While at Moose he was the guest of the Company's senior officer. Here, as everywhere in Rupert's Land, the officers of the Company were most kind and hospitable, and eager to do anything for him that lay in their power.

The mission at Moose was under the charge of the Rev. John Horden[1] (afterwards Bishop) of the C.M.S., an able and in many respects remarkable man, full of energy and of tireless industry which manifested itself in all directions. Fertile in resource, he could turn his hand to anything; with equal pluck and skill he built house and church, set up a printing-press which he had had sent out from England by the Company's ship, and learned how to print with it, and taught himself how to play an organ which had been presented to his mission by some Irish ladies. His labours among the Indians, which had commenced in 1851, were abundant and singularly successful. He won whole bands and even tribes from heathenism, so that scarcely a pagan was to be found in the district. He had completely mastered their languages and dialects; he translated many parts of the Bible and of other books into their tongues, and he printed his translations in the "syllabic" characters on his printing-press with his own capable hands. Small wonder that the Bishop, after witnessing Horden's work, wrote with enthusiasm to the C.M.S.: "He is a man and a missionary after my own heart." The Bishop observed with pleasure that at Moose the Indians were not only Christianised, but had attained to some degree of civilisation; their tents were clean and well kept, and they themselves were well dressed—"like European labourers."

After spending some time at Moose in holding Confirmation and other Services, and in speaking to such of the Indians as were able to converse in English, the Bishop, accompanied by Horden, went by canoe

[1] A short Life of Dr. Horden, by A. R. Auckland, has been published by the S.P.C.K., under the title, *John Horden, Missionary Bishop*, which, apart from its religious side, is full of quite extraordinary "human" interest.

on James Bay to Rupert's House, where was a post of the Company, with a large and flourishing mission about it, and also under Horden's care. The distance from Moose to Rupert's House is 120 miles over a sea that is apt to be dangerous from fogs and sudden storms, but wind and weather being propitious, so that sail could be made as well as paddle plied, the trip was effected in forty-eight hours.

The Bishop passed a busy and pleasant week at Rupert's House, holding daily Confirmation classes amongst the Indians, while Horden acted as interpreter ; he was surprised and delighted to find all the candidates well prepared and ready with their answers to the questions he put to them. At the Confirmation Service he read his special part of it in Indian, Horden having translated the words and taught him how to pronounce them. This was probably the only time in his life when he used in his episcopal work any language other than English, as he never attempted, nor had sufficient inducement, to acquire any of the native tongues. From Rupert's House the little party went by canoe to Albany, another post of the Company, with a mission of the C.M.S. gathered around it, the Rev. T. Vincent (afterwards Archdeacon) being the Minister in charge. From Rupert's House to Albany is a distance of 200 miles, and the voyage took much longer in proportion, and was less agreeable than that from Moose to Rupert's House, but the Bishop had the satisfaction of seeing on his arrival that all was well with this mission ; as at the other two posts on James Bay, the evangelisation of the Indians had been successfully accomplished, and he was greatly pleased with all he observed. After holding Confirmations he passed on to New Brunswick, another

mission station on the bay. Returning by the same route, he was in Michipicoton on Lake Superior by the middle of August, after having travelled some 1300 miles by canoe without serious misadventure on river or sea.

The chief result of this Visitation to the missions on James Bay, taken in connection with the Visitation to York Factory on Hudson's Bay, higher up on the shores of the same sea, though it has different names, was a conviction in Bishop Machray's mind that they required a Bishop of their own. He foresaw that he would not be able to attend to them in that quickly-coming epoch when all his time and care would have to be devoted to meeting the expected rush of settlers into Red River. He had discussed the question with Horden, who first suggested the formation of these missions into an Archdeaconry, but the Bishop thought that was not what was needed in the circumstances, and Horden in the end agreed with him. Before leaving Moose he told Horden that he would move in this matter as soon as possible, and bring the subject under the notice of the C.M.S. with a view to the speedy appointment of a Bishop for Hudson's Bay. In September of this year Horden himself wrote to the Society, urging the Consecration of a Bishop for these missions, to which he gave the general name of Moosonee, the appellation finally selected for the designation of the See that was eventually formed. By this time Bishop Machray, in consideration of what was about to happen in the Settlement, had come to the conclusion that, as it was impossible for him to visit the missions on the far north-west and north of Rupert's Land, that portion of his Diocese must also have its own Bishop.

From Michipicoton he went across the great lakes into "Canada," partly to be present at the meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada in Montreal, which was to be held in the second week of September, and partly to raise funds for Rupert's Land and to interest Canadian Churchmen in his efforts. On the way he stopped here and there—at Niagara, London, where, at the request of the Dean of Huron, he laid the foundation-stone of Hellmuth Ladies' College, Toronto and Ottawa. At the last-named city, just made the capital of the newly created Dominion, he had interviews with leading Canadian statesmen then in power, who were debating what steps should be taken for obtaining the cession of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company in order that the whole North-West might become part of the Confederation. The Bishop told them of the state of the country, assured them of his personal good-will, and proffered his good offices, if they saw fit to make use of them, in arranging a harmonious settlement with the people of Red River; for himself, he said that he was most anxious that Rupert's Land should join the Dominion. He was received courteously, but all that passed at these interviews has not transpired; those who took part in them are dead; the important point is that, after describing the position of affairs in Red River Settlement, he placed himself at the disposal of the Canadian Government, who, in the end, did not take advantage either of the information or of his offer, but followed a course of their own which led to disastrous results, as will appear in the next chapter, "The Red River Rebellion."

From Ottawa the Bishop proceeded to Montreal, where on September 9 he preached the sermon at the opening of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical

Province of Canada.[1] Hardly had the Synod begun its deliberations when the meeting was darkened by a tragic occurrence—the sudden and totally unexpected death of the President, Dr. Fulford, the Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of the Province. This melancholy event naturally threw the Synod into some confusion, which, however, soon disappeared, and the question arose of a successor to the vacant See. As the Bishop of Montreal was Metropolitan, his election by the Diocese of Montreal had to be ratified by the Provincial Synod, in accordance with the Constitution of the Province; if the Synod did not accept the nomination there had to be a fresh election. Amongst other names that of the Bishop of Rupert's Land was submitted to the Lower House, which was composed of clerical and lay delegates from the Dioceses of the Province, most of whom were Evangelicals; and as he was definitely selected by a considerable majority, his name was sent up to the Upper House, or House of Bishops. The number of Bishops present had been reduced from five to four by the death of Bishop Fulford; by three votes to one the Bishops declined to assent to the nomination of Bishop Machray because of his being an Evangelical, though no reason was assigned, and asked for another name to be submitted. The Lower House, however, sent his name back again to the Upper House; but as the Bishops persisted in their opposition, it was eventually withdrawn, and after a time Dr. Oxenden was elected Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of the Province. When news reached Red River that their Bishop might become Bishop of Montreal there was a good deal of excitement, which found expression in the local news-

[1] The first Provincial Synod of "Canada" was held in 1861.

paper, the *Nor'-Wester*, in the statement: "The Bishop of Montreal is Metropolitan of Canada. Should his Lordship, Bishop Machray, be elevated to that See, his advancement will afford pleasure to his many friends in this Colony, while at the same time all will regret that we shall be deprived of his valuable services and counsel amongst us. Bishop Machray has thousands of sincere friends in this country."

While the struggle between the two Houses of the Synod continued, Bishop Machray moved on from Montreal to New York, where the Triennial Convention of the American Church was in session. At a great opening service held in Trinity, the historic church of New York, he was requested by the Bishop of Kentucky, the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church at the time, to act as celebrant of the Holy Communion—a token of fraternal good-feeling and fellowship which he said reminded him of the occasion when, in the second century, Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, asked Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who was on a visit to the former, to consecrate and dispense the sacred elements. From New York he went by rail to St. Paul, Minnesota, thence to St. Cloud, and on over the now familiar ground to Red River, reaching Bishop's Court on October 31. Next day he preached in his Cathedral, and gave an account of what he had been doing during his five months' absence from the Settlement. In addition to some of the particulars set forth above, he mentioned that he had received £70 at Moose from officers of the Hudson's Bay Company for Church purposes, and had raised £500 in Canada for the endowment of the Warden's Chair of Theology in St. John's College.

It was to a gloomy and disheartened Settlement,

however, that the Bishop had returned—a Settlement in the cruel grip of famine and disaster. The ravages of the grasshoppers in the spring had been so complete that scarce a vestige of vegetation was left; what grew up after they had gone was worth comparatively little. The settlers had for many years supplied themselves with grain from their own fields, raising no more than was sufficient for their needs from season to season; there was no great store of wheat or flour in the district, and to bring provisions, dear in any case, from St. Cloud, more than four hundred miles across the prairies, was an exceedingly expensive business. Food had to be obtained, or the people would have starved, but few of them were possessed of means. The prospects of the Settlement were dark indeed; as the summer wore on, the outlook had become blacker and blacker, until it might have seemed that the land lay under a curse. The "buffalo hunts," to which some of the settlers looked for their subsistence, proved a failure; the great herds which had once roamed the plains in their thousands had ceased to exist, though as late as 1865 the animals were still fairly numerous; in 1868 the buffalo was not far from extermination. The fisheries, too, on Lake Winnipeg failed for the first time in their history. To crown the story of distress and disaster, all game disappeared; the rabbit and the prairie chicken vanished from the woods.

The local Government did what it could. On August 10 the Council of Assiniboia met and voted £1600 in aid, but this was far from sufficient. An organisation, called the "Red River Co-operative Relief Committee," was formed, including the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Bishop of St. Boniface, the Roman Catholic Bishop, to deal with the situation.

But it was evident that unless help came from the outside world the Settlement was doomed. Appeals for assistance were made to England, Canada, and the United States in the *Nor'-Wester* and by private individuals; fortunately, the response was quick and generous. The Earl of Kimberley, then Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, made known to the British public the necessities of the starving community in the *Times*, and subscription lists were opened. England sent £3000 in all, to which the Company had contributed handsomely; in one way or another the Company gave £2000 for the relief of the people. Canada and the United States sent considerable sums. The total received from all sources was about £9000, a large amount considering how little Red River was known. Even in Canada there was a very imperfect knowledge of the country. Dr. Grant, the Principal of Kingston University, Ontario, who was active in getting subscriptions for the settlers, wrote of this time and occasion: "I could have collected the money quite as easily, and the givers would have given it quite as intelligently, had the sufferers been in Central Abyssinia."[1]

The funds thus provided were spent in buying and bringing in food-stuffs and in the purchase of seed for the following year. At one time 2500 were receiving free rations, out of a total population of not more than 12,000; in the Church parishes the clergy had charge of the distribution under the direction of the Bishop. As if to make up somewhat to the settlers for their sufferings, the winter proved exceptionally mild; the poor had to endure less from the cold than

[1] Quoted from Dr. Parkin's *Life of Sir John Macdonald*, in the "Makers of Canada" Series.

usual, and the "freighting" of the provisions across the prairies was accomplished under favourable conditions, while the winter fisheries turned out to be surprisingly successful. Grasshoppers intermittently plagued the Settlement for several years afterwards, and once—in 1875—nearly overwhelmed it again ; but the majority of the people never lost their faith in the country, and it is interesting and inspiring to remember that Manitoba, of which Red River Settlement was the nucleus, now annually produces millions upon millions of bushels of the finest wheat in the world.

In the Bishop's more particular sphere he had the pleasure of finding that a church, called Holy Trinity, had been completed and opened in Winnipeg—its first church—by Archdeacon M'Lean, who, in addition to this and other work, had acted as his Commissary during his absence. The building was small, but it had not been erected without discouragements ; while it was being constructed, the fabric was blown to pieces by a great hurricane that swept the land in July and damaged several churches, notably that of St. Andrew's parish. No clergyman had yet come from England for Winnipeg, but the S.P.G. had sent the Rev. W. Cyprian Pinkham (now Bishop of Calgary, another of the Dioceses carved out of Rupert's Land) to replace Mr. Taylor in St. James's parish. Mr. Pinkham, a Newfoundlandler by birth, had been a student of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury ; he was ordained to the diaconate, while passing through Canada, where Bishop Machray had met him, to Red River, in London, Ontario, by Dr. Hellmuth, the Bishop of Huron, and he was "priested" by Bishop Machray in 1869. In the autumn St. John's College and College School began their third year, the attendance

of students and boys having gone up to forty-two; the necessity for increased accommodation was more obvious than ever, but in the depressed state of the Settlement the Bishop felt compelled to defer the prosecution of his scheme for the erection of large temporary premises. Having secured the approval of the C.M.S. and of the other Societies to his proposed Constitution of the Synod of Rupert's Land, he submitted the draft to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was his Metropolitan, and also to Bishop Anderson. Dr. Longley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died in October 1868, and though he had expressed his satisfaction with it the Bishop thought it was necessary to place the Constitution before Dr. Tait, when the latter was translated from London to Canterbury. The new Archbishop signified his complete and cordial approval.

Dr. Tait always took a good deal of interest in Rupert's Land, not only because he knew Bishop Machray, but also because he was intimately acquainted with Bishop Anderson—they had been schoolboys together at Edinburgh Academy. In the published Report of the first Synod of Rupert's Land the Archbishop appeared as a Patron of the Diocesan Endowment Fund. In the course of the winter of 1868-69 the Bishop held Confirmations in all the parishes of Red River. Of a Confirmation belonging to this time the Rev. J. Carrie, missionary of the C.C.C.S. at Headingley on the Assiniboine, wrote to the Society in London:

> On 31st January last the Lord Bishop held a Confirmation here, eleven persons being confirmed. This was the occasion of so much good being done that I only wish he could find time to repeat his visit often. He is a general favourite among the people, and they often inquire when he is coming again.

Indeed, his visit among us seemed to put a new spirit into us all, and made decided Churchmen of many who were wavering. His address to the candidates was indeed "in season"; they are all seeking eternal life, and one of them is a decided Christian, having made up her mind, on the Bishop's advice, "to live for Christ." Other members of the congregation also have received benefit to their souls; one of them said to me, "Yes, there was something in his advice I cannot forget."

The first Synod of the Diocese met on February 24, 1869, at St. John's. As at the Conferences, there was a full Service in the Cathedral in the morning, luncheon at Bishop's Court, and the meeting of the clergy and lay delegates in the schoolhouse in the afternoon. Instead of a sermon in the morning, the Bishop read his Address, which was also his Primary Charge.

The Address was long, being over 20,000 words in length, but must have been very interesting; it still is so, for it presents a picture of the Diocese and of the Settlement to be obtained nowhere else, as well as a statement of the views of the Bishop on points of doctrine in general and on questions arising from the special position of the missionaries, as, for instance, the attitude to be taken by them with respect to polygamy and the mixed marriages of Christians and heathen among the Indians. After referring to his Visitation to Moose and his trip to Canada, he spoke of the famine and distress in the Settlement, and the efforts made to relieve the people. He bade them not to be cast down. "Nothing is wanting to make this a great and prosperous country," he reminded them, "but a sufficient population and easy access to the outer world." There was little crime in Red River, and the spiritual and moral condition of its people was encouraging, though "a Churchman would like to see" some

improvements, such as better responses in the services, kneeling at prayers, and the introduction more often of music. He was pleased to hear that some Churchwomen of Toronto were to give a melodeon to St. John's, and some Montreal Churchwomen to present another to the new Church in Winnipeg.

He spoke of the beginnings of endowment funds for various objects, and of St. John's College and its progress, mentioning that the chief sources of the income of the College were annual grants of £200 from the C.M.S., £100 from the Council of Rupert's Land (the Hudson's Bay Company), and £100 from the New England Company, though the last sum was not fully available; a start had been made with the endowment of the Warden's Professorship of Divinity, $2700 (£540) having been raised, and a scholarship was being founded in memory of the Rev. John Macallum (see p. 117).

At the moment the College and College School had only two small class-rooms, which were quite insufficient; the Bishop expressed the hope that the day would come when the College would possess a fine hall in which might be held a suitable Commemoration of its benefactors. But it was difficult to excite the attention of people outside the Diocese: "I have found my heaviest occupation in endeavouring to arouse the Societies and the friends of the Church to a lively sense of our wants." He thanked the Societies for what they were doing; the gratitude of the Diocese was chiefly due to the C.M.S.; "Our debt to that beloved Society cannot be expressed in words." He spoke of the vastness of the Diocese, and the necessity there existed for a Bishop for Moose and the missions on Hudson's Bay, and for another in the Athabasca or Mackenzie River area.

The Synod met in the afternoon, when there were present the Bishop, fourteen clergy, including the two Archdeacons, and twenty lay delegates. Of the clergy, nine came from the parishes of the Settlement, and five from the missions in the interior. The Bishop mentioned that he now held $9000 (£1800) of endowment funds, divided as follows:—Church Endowment Fund, $3900; Native Pastorate Fund, $630; Clergy Widows and Orphans' Fund, $380; and for St. John's College, $4090. The whole sum had been invested in the best Canadian securities, and was producing a good rate of interest. The Synod then passed to its chief business, which was the consideration of the proposed Constitution submitted by the Bishop, and endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the great Societies. It is scarcely necessary to say that, with such recommendations, it was passed with very little discussion and no alteration.

The Constitution provided that the Synod was to consist of the Bishop, the licensed clergy, and lay delegates who had to be male communicants of a year's standing, elected during Easter week at a public meeting, the voters being male communicants of six months' standing. Each congregation recognised by the Bishop, duly organised by the election of churchwardens and vestrymen, and having at least six registered communicants, was entitled to send one delegate, two delegates where there were forty communicants, and three where there were more than one hundred, but no congregation was to have more than three representatives. The Synod was to be called annually or otherwise by the Bishop and adjourned as he saw fit, and none of its resolutions was to pass into law without the concurrence of the Bishop and a majority of the clergy and laity

present; the votes of the clergy and laity were to be taken collectively, unless a vote by Orders was demanded before the question was put by the Chair, when a majority of each Order was necessary. An Executive Committee, with considerable powers, was to be appointed for the conduct of the general affairs of the Diocese, the supreme direction remaining with the Bishop, who was to be perpetual chairman of the Committee. Finally, it was provided that no change could be made in the Constitution unless the alteration had been considered by the Executive Committee, approved at a meeting of the Synod by the Bishop and a two-thirds majority of each Order voting separately, and afterwards confirmed by the Bishop and a like majority of each Order at the following meeting of Synod.

After the Constitution had been passed, the Synod appointed an Executive Committee, transacted some further business, and was adjourned by the Bishop. The Bishop wrote to a friend that it had been a very pleasant meeting, and that everything had been done "in the best spirit." With the report of the Synod were published statements of accounts and of contributions to the endowments, and amongst the latter appears a contribution to the Warden's Chair of Systematic Divinity in St. John's College of £100 from the Bishop's old parish of Newton, and various sums from Lady King, Miss Cotton, Miss King and the people of Madingley, in Cambridgeshire, personal tributes to the Bishop which gave him great pleasure.

The negotiations which had been proceeding during the winter between the Dominion and the Imperial Government on the one hand, and the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company on the other,

had resulted in a bargain being struck, whereby the Company agreed to surrender their rights in Rupert's Land for a payment of £300,000 ($1,500,000) and certain specified concessions in lands in their old territory. The surrender was to be made to the Imperial Government, who, in their turn, were to hand over Rupert's Land to the Dominion, to be incorporated with it on the carrying out of the terms of the bargain. The matter was all arranged, but the money was not paid till 1870, an unfortunate delay which was partly responsible for what happened in Red River Settlement in the winter of 1869-70.

Writing to the S.P.G. in May 1869, the Bishop remarked: "The country is about to be transferred to Canada, and Rupert's Land will be opened up. . . . The future is all to come." The great question to him, he said, was how was the Church to prepare for this momentous change; in preparing for it, what help was he to look for from the "outside"? The only chance lay in having a strong missionary centre, organised on the same system as that which was in operation in the western Dioceses of the American Church, and the germ of such a centre already existed in St. John's College, for which he asked the generous support of the Societies and of English Churchmen generally. The Church in Rupert's Land must be strongly supported, unless it was to lose ground; already there was denominational opposition, which was bound to increase. The Presbyterians and Wesleyans in Canada were fully alive to the future possibilities of Rupert's Land; the former now had three ministers in Red River and another was coming, while the latter had six ministers with a seventh on the way, and were building a church in Winnipeg, an example which the Presby-

terians would soon follow. Writing to the S.P.C.K. the Bishop made similar representations.

"This land," he said, "deserves politically and ecclesiastically a very thoughtful treatment." He asked this Society to assist the College with a grant, an appeal which was backed up by the appearance at one of the meetings of the Committee of the S.P.C.K. in London of his Commissary in England, Mr. Perowne, the result being that a vote of £500, to meet £2000 from other sources, was given to St. John's College. Upon the C.M.S., ever fully apprised of all he was doing and attempting, he continued to impress the necessity there was for the formation of the two missionary Bishoprics of Moosonee and Athabasca out of those portions of his Diocese. After discussing the advantages to the Church that would accrue from the establishment of these Sees, he went on to reply to an argument sometimes advanced against any increase of the episcopate on the ground that it conduced to "Prelacy":

> I think it to be deeply regretted that the number of Bishops in England is so small. Some object to the increase of the number as tending to advance hierarchical or prelatical notions or authority. I believe the exact contrary, and I hope the exact contrary would be the result. In fact, I do not conceal the opinion that I am in favour of a very large increase in the Episcopal Order, and that I consider the condition of the Church of England, practically though not in principle, nearly as far removed from the state of the Primitive Church as Presbyterianism. I believe the system now rapidly extending in the American Church of the division of Bishoprics so that the Bishop can visit and attend each year every parish and become acquainted, if not with his flock, yet with the leading persons in every parish, to be correct in theory and serviceable in practice. Confirmations and other episcopal acts become then less of the *opus operatum* character.

With the opening of summer the Bishop made a Visitation of the C.M.S. missions on the Saskatchewan and on English River, a journey which occupied two months and necessitated a voyage of 2000 miles by boat—not by steamboat, but in an open boat rowed with oars. Leaving the Settlement early in June he crossed Lake Winnipeg, and arrived at the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan, on the north-west side of the lake, after sixteen days of hard travel. There had been an Indian village at the Grand Rapids, but he found that it had been broken up on account of the failure of the sturgeon fishery in 1868. Moving slowly up the Saskatchewan, against the stream, he arrived at the mission of Devon on July 1, where he held services and confirmed 79 Indian candidates; thence he went on to Cumberland, where he confirmed a considerable number,—this was a mission he had visited in 1866.

From the Saskatchewan he proceeded to the mission of Stanley on English River, then in charge of the Rev. J. A. Mackay, afterwards Archdeacon of the Diocese of Saskatchewan. At Stanley the Bishop saw a church which he described as a "perfect gem," and he was much pleased with the behaviour and religious condition of the Indians. After holding Confirmations he returned to the Saskatchewan, and set his face homewards. The trip down-stream was quickly made, and he arrived back in Red River in the beginning of August. The Settlement now rejoiced in the prospect of a good harvest, and in that season the grasshoppers did not scourge the land, but events had occurred which before the close of the year led to that rising known as the Red River Rebellion.

CHAPTER IX

RED RIVER REBELLION

1869

It is a truism that the basis of government, in the ultimate analysis, is to be found in the power to maintain law and order—by *force*, but this indispensable attribute or condition was exactly what the government of Red River Settlement lacked. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, the weakness of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia had been shown in their inability to uphold effectively the judgments of the Court of Law in the Settlement; they had no soldiers, no militia, no body of police to fall back upon, in that primitive and patriarchal community; determined, not to say desperate, men could and did set their authority at defiance. No wonderful gift of perspicacity is required to see that this state of things could not continue long without the danger of some large and menacing upheaval being incurred. When the Imperial Government were asked to send troops for the protection of the Settlement, they declined to furnish them unless the cost was borne by the Hudson's Bay Company, because Assiniboia was not under the direct administration of the Crown, but of the Company; the latter, however, would not agree to bear the expense.

On Dr. Machray being appointed Bishop of Rupert's Land, he was invited by Mr. Cardwell, then Colonial Secretary, to write to the Colonial Office on any subject connected with his new sphere which he thought was likely to be of special interest or importance in the view of the Imperial Government. As soon as the Bishop heard of the negotiations for the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Company to the Dominion, he addressed a communication to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who had succeeded Mr. Cardwell, in which he pressed upon the Duke the urgency there was for sending a small detachment of troops to Red River, as there was "imminent risk any day of some outbreak leading to the utter prostration of law and order." He also stated it was necessary that a liberal provision should be made in the negotiations for securing to the settlers titles to the lands they had acquired either from the Company or by "squatting" tenure. A third point he raised was concerned with the position, after the transfer, of the Bishopric, which, it will be remembered, was a Crown Bishopric, and he suggested the propriety of arranging for the independence of the See and the succession to it in these changing circumstances. His letter was acknowledged, pigeon-holed, and in all probability forgotten—at any rate, nothing came of it. He had written to the English Societies which supported the missions of his Diocese that his great preoccupation and endeavour was so to prepare for the time that was coming as to be able "to hold the ground for the Church"; it had scarcely occurred to him, it may be imagined, even though he saw the peril in which the Settlement stood, that first he would be called on "to hold the ground for" the Empire—a struggle of a very different character.

Like the Bishop, Governor Mactavish, the Council of Assiniboia, and the inhabitants generally of Red River heard of the negotiations for the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion, but they heard of them at second hand—from reports in newspapers and other indirect sources; they were given no official, authoritative information by either the Imperial or the Dominion Government, and, strangest thing of all, neither did the Hudson's Bay Company in London inform Governor Mactavish, their chief representative in the country and the Governor of Rupert's Land, of the course the proceedings were taking—their only thought or care apparently being for their shareholders. Governor Mactavish was so much in the dark, that in the summer of 1869 he made a hurried visit to the headquarters of the Company in Montreal to learn what was the real state of the case. Some more direct assurance of what was to happen was found by the people of the Settlement in the construction of the "Dawson Road" (see p. 143), and in the British North America Act of 1867, in which the Imperial Government made some provision for the inclusion of Rupert's Land in the Dominion. In 1868 Canadian surveyors, under instructions from the Dominion Government, began a road from Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, the land thus traversed lying in Assiniboia, and within the immediate jurisdiction of its Council, who were treated in this matter as a negligible quantity.

By this time there was in the Settlement a considerable body of Canadians, principally drawn from the Province of Ontario, and they formed what may be termed a "Canada party"; while they were loud in their praises of the country and eloquent of its possibilities,

they were aggressively Canadian in sentiment, and some of them spoke and wrote with unconcealed contempt of the native half-breed population, who naturally resented this supercilious attitude—with the inevitable result that much ill-feeling was engendered ; but it was not until well on in 1869 that this phase passed into one of positive hostility, fresh, though probably unintentional, provocation from the Dominion authorities being the cause.

Though the bargain for the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Company was not consummated, the Dominion Government acted as if it were. In July 1869, the Hon. William M'Dougall, the Dominion Minister of Public Works, instructed a surveyor, Colonel Dennis, to go to Red River officially for the purpose of laying out townships and making a general survey of the country. Mr. M'Dougall had been one of the most eager and persistent advocates of the inclusion of Rupert's Land in the Dominion, and there is no doubt that he meant well, but his precipitancy was so great that he never stopped to ask permission from Governor Mactavish and the Council, though he must have known that he was stepping beyond his legal rights and infringing theirs ; he does not appear even to have consulted them. Colonel Dennis and his assistants arrived in the Settlement, and all that summer its people saw them at work "running lines" and taking measurements in and about their fields and lands with what seemed an absolute disregard of the existing and old-time divisions and boundaries of their farms ; many of the settlers jumped to the conclusion that the result of the transfer of their country from the Company was that they were about to be dispossessed of their lands. If the conclusion was hasty and ill-considered, it at least gained

colour from the fact that some of the Canada party staked off tracts of ground which they boastfully declared would become their property when the Dominion entered into possession. The Bishop, in his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, had referred to the necessity there was for generous dealing with respect to titles and tenures of lands, some of which, in a strict legal sense, were not well supported.

But the doings of the surveyors alarmed not only those who held their lands by no stronger tenure than that of "squatting," but also some of those who could exhibit deeds from the Company by which their holdings were legally conveyed to them; there thus was aroused a feeling of insecurity which became contagious, and spread throughout Red River, finding its strongest expression among the French half-breeds or Métis, as they were locally termed. The Métis formed a half, or rather more than a half, of the whole population of the Settlement; they were more ignorant, excitable, and open to suggestion than their English or Scottish neighbours; they listened eagerly and responded readily to the words and counsels of their leaders; they were strongly attached to their homes and modes of living. They saw with their own eyes lands surveyed and roads constructed by these alien and often insolent Canadians; when they were told that they were to be deprived of their homesteads they believed it, and the effect on them can be easily imagined. The dismay and fear which they first experienced passed into anger and rage that speedily led to acts of open antagonism to Canada.

The Métis of Red River found a leader in Louis Riel, a young man born in the Settlement, and one of themselves, but he was much better educated and more

intelligent than the great majority of his confrères. The "Riel Question," which once convulsed Canada, has been for many years one of the "deadest of dead" issues, and at this distance of time it is possible to make a clearer and fairer estimate of the man than was to be obtained in his own day, when passion and prejudice had their customary blinding influence. Professor Bryce, of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, and the historian of the Hudson's Bay Company and of Manitoba, states that Riel professed to be loyal to Great Britain, but hostile to Canada, and that he was "of fair ability, but proud, vain, and assertive," with the "ambition to be a Cæsar or a Napoleon." Mgr. Taché, the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface, a designation at that time synonymous with Rupert's Land, had been his early friend, protector, and patron, and had sent him while a boy to a seminary in Montreal. Writing of him in after years Bishop Taché said that Riel was afflicted with megalomania, or, as the Americans phrase it, "swelled head."

What is certain is that Riel possessed considerable courage, determination, and force; it seems unjust not to admit that he was inspired, at all events in the beginning, with a species of patriotism. Something of an orator, he voiced in the meetings of the Métis the sense of intolerable wrong that burned in the breasts of his countrymen as in his own. It is usual to represent him as a mere demagogue and agitator, eager only for his own ends, but probably this would not have been said of him if he had been content to place himself in the van of a purely "constitutional movement." But from speech he went on to deeds. It is only right to say that, even after the first acts of revolt had taken place, had Riel been more moderate in his conduct and not

so self-seeking, he could have had the support of practically the entire Settlement, but his megalomania carried him away.

On October 11, 1869, Riel, at the head of a party of these French half-breeds or Métis, interrupted the surveyors while at work, ordered them to desist from their operations, and threatened them with violence unless they obeyed his commands. The surveyors protested that they were only carrying out the instructions they had received from the Canadian Government, and appealed to Dr. Cowan, the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of Fort Garry, for protection while they went on with their work. Dr. Cowan remonstrated with Riel, but without effect; no doubt both men knew that the Canadian surveyors had no legal *locus standi*, a fact which weakened the force of Dr. Cowan's remonstrances, and strengthened the determination of Riel, who was well aware that Dr. Cowan had no armed strength behind him in the local Government. Riel persisted in his opposition to the surveyors, who were compelled to stop all that they were doing, to the great dissatisfaction of the Canada faction in the Settlement, who, as a matter of course, took sides with the surveyors, whom they regarded as the representatives of the Dominion.

Even at this stage all might still have been well, or, at least, the course of affairs might have assumed a more pleasant complexion if the Dominion Government had put themselves in the right, but they did not do so.

It had been agreed that the £300,000 purchase money of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land was to have been paid on October 1, 1869, and it was anticipated that a proclamation would

then be issued fixing the date of the union of Rupert's Land with the existing Dominion ; the money, however, was not paid to the Company until May of the following year. What actually happened was that Mr. M'Dougall resigned the portfolio of Public Works, and was appointed by the Dominion Government Lieutenant-Governor of the country, styled the "North-West Territories of Canada," on September 28, although the terms of the bargain for the transfer had not been fulfilled ; he was instructed to proceed to Fort Garry to take over the administration of the government from Governor Mactavish and the Council of Assiniboia, and, attended by a small retinue, he arrived at Pembina, on the American side of the international boundary, on October 21.

In the meantime news of his appointment and prospective arrival had reached Red River, and Riel and the Métis resolved to oppose his entry into the Settlement ; they erected a barricade across the public highway at Rivière Sale, on the Red River side of the frontier, and sent a messenger to him at Pembina with the subjoined peremptory letter :

> Monsieur—Le Comité National des Métis de la Rivière Rouge intime à Monsieur W. M'Dougall l'ordre de ne pas entrer sur le Territoire du Nord-Ouest sans une permission spéciale de ce Comité.
>
> Par ordre du Président, John Bruce.
> Louis Riel, Secrétaire.

On his way to Red River Mr. M'Dougall must have heard that there was disaffection in the Settlement, but could not have counted on its having reached such a pitch. Hearing that the Comité des Métis meant business, though at first he could not believe it, he

sent out to reconnoitre, and quickly learned that there was a band of from forty to fifty armed French half-breeds stationed at the barricade, who declared that if he attempted to pass it they would shoot him. Deeming discretion the better part, he did not make the venture, but remained in Pembina, from which he wrote to Governor Mactavish and others in the Settlement, setting forth his humiliating position and asking, or rather demanding, assistance. The local Government had already been apprised of the building of the barricade at Rivière Sale, and of what was taking place on the frontier, for at Fort Garry, on October 22, the day after the notice had been served on Mr. M'Dougall, an affidavit was sworn before Dr. Cowan, who was a magistrate, which gave an account of the proceedings of the Métis. That Mr. M'Dougall had been "held up" on the boundary by the French half-breeds was soon known throughout Red River, and the surprise and indignation of the Canada party were extreme. The Council of Assiniboia was summoned to consider the situation on October 25; unfortunately, its head, Governor Mactavish, at this crisis was seriously ill, and physically quite unfit to cope with it energetically and decisively.

The Council was composed of the leading men of Red River, both English and French, including the English and French Bishops, but the French Bishop, Mgr. Taché, who was in Rome, was represented by his Vicar-General. Amongst those present at this meeting was Bishop Machray, who urged that the rising of the Métis—as a movement that had no sanction from the Governor and the Council, but was, in effect, a setting at defiance of their authority, or, in plain terms, a rebellion—should be summarily put down by the

raising of a sufficient force of men from within the Settlement ; but this bold course found no support from the other members of the Council, the majority thinking that matters might still be arranged amicably, and it was resolved to resort to negotiations with the rebels —a line of action which in itself was a confession of weakness, and was unproductive, as might have been foreseen, of any good results.

If the Bishop's plan had been adopted, it would probably have been successful, as the Métis at Rivière Sale were indifferently armed, and the insurrection did not assume formidable dimensions till some days later, when its real character was demonstrated by the seizure of Fort Garry, and the opportunity had passed away. With respect to Mr. M'Dougall the Council still had no definite, authoritative information from the Imperial Government or the Hudson's Bay Company in London, and they probably did not know that his appointment was *ultra vires* of the Dominion Government, but they knew that terms had been arranged for the transfer, and were willing enough to receive him. While they were conducting their futile negotiations with the rebels, they advised him to remain at Pembina, in the hope that things would take a turn for the better—a hope not destined to be fulfilled.

The rising, so far, had been confined to a comparatively small number of French half-breeds ; many of their compatriots did not approve of their actions and did not join them, but others of them did, and the ranks of the rebels were steadily augmented, the situation daily becoming more and more grave. Any small possibility that existed of the efforts at conciliation then or afterwards being successful was rendered abortive by the attitude of Mr. M'Dougall, who issued pro-

FORT GARRY, 1870.

clamations for which he had no legal justification, and virtually accused Governor Mactavish and his Council of aiding the revolt.

During this period of excitement and suspense Colonel Dennis, the chief of the Canadian surveyors, went to Pembina to see M'Dougall, and then made a tour through the English parishes and Kildonan with a view to getting together a force to escort him into the country, but he did not receive much encouragement. He discovered that what may be termed the British part of the Settlement—Englishmen and Scotsmen, and English and Scottish half-breeds—felt confidence, generally speaking, in the future administration of the government of Rupert's Land by the Dominion ; they represented, however, that they had not in any way been consulted, as a people, with respect to entering the Dominion, and that they knew little or nothing of what the Dominion proposed to do with or for them ; and as for beginning a conflict with their French neighbours, they had no inclination for it whatever, particularly as a struggle between them, the issue of which was doubtful, might result in placing the whole Settlement at the mercy of the Indians, already on the alert and restless.

Meanwhile Riel's band at Rivière Sale had grown considerably, and the rebels began to carry matters with a high hand ; persons coming into the country through the United States were stopped and examined, merchandise was seized, and the mails were detained and searched. Riel then brought off his greatest *coup*. Leaving a sufficient body of the Métis to guard the barricade and frustrate any attempt on the part of M'Dougall to pass it, he marched with a hundred of his followers to Fort Garry ; and as no preparations had

been made for its defence and he encountered no resistance—an extraordinary thing, giving unfortunate colour to the statements freely made that the Company secretly sympathised with the rebels—he occupied it on November 2, taking possession of its cannon, consisting of some serviceable six-pounders and other pieces, its large magazine of rifles, guns, and ammunition, and its stores of provisions. Here, installing himself and his men, he established his headquarters, and drew without stint on the provisions in the Fort, on the plea that he was protecting the Company from some terrible, though inexplicable, danger. Never, it is safe to say, had he or his supporters had so good a time. Surprise and fear seized on the Canada party, something approaching a panic made itself felt in the Settlement, the wildest rumours flew about, and the slow anger of the British section of the community was at length aroused.

To give some show of justification to his audacious and lawless acts, Riel, under cover of a manifesto issued in the name of his figure-head of a President, John Bruce, who, in spite of his Scottish name, was a French half-breed, convoked a convention for November 16 of representatives of the English-speaking parishes, with an equal number from the French-speaking parishes, to consider their grievances. The town of Winnipeg was to elect two delegates, while St. John's, Kildonan, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, St. Clement's, and St. Peter's, on the Red River, and St. James's, Headingley, Poplar Point and High Bluff, and Portage la Prairie, on the Assiniboine, were each to select one delegate—twelve in all.

With the seizure of Fort Garry by Riel, the rule of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia came practically

to an end. On the English side the most prominent member of the Council was the Bishop, and next to him Judge Black, the Recorder ; of the other members the most influential was a Scotsman, Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, a "Free Trader," but allied by marriage with officers of the Company. On the French side Mr. Dease, a French half-breed, was the chief lay member of the Council, and throughout the Rebellion remained the leader of the French loyalists. They consulted with Governor Mactavish and with each other, and on the Bishop's suggestion Mactavish drew up a protest against the actions of Riel and the insurgents. English and Scottish delegates to the convention were elected by the parishes, and a first meeting was held on November 16 ; in spite of the objections of Riel, the protest of Governor Mactavish was read and discussed, and had a moderating effect on some of the rebels ; but Riel announced his intention of forming a Provisional Government, whereupon the convention adjourned to November 22. It met on that date and again on December 1, and a Bill of Rights, prepared by Riel, was adopted with amendments.

The English delegates then desired that the convention should hold a conference with Mr. M'Dougall on the basis of this Bill of Rights ; but Riel negatived the proposal, declaring vehemently that M'Dougall would in no circumstances be permitted to come into the country as its Lieutenant-Governor. Before this third meeting he had taken decisive measures to show his power by the arrest in his rooms in the Fort of Governor Mactavish, and by the patrolling of the streets of Winnipeg by armed rebels ; he intimated that other arrests might soon follow. It was from this time, or a little before, that he showed in increasing

degree that megalomania of which Bishop Taché said he was the victim. His overbearing conduct displeased even some of the French who had supported him, but a report that the English and Scottish settlers were about to attack Fort Garry united them all under him again.

There was some truth in the report. The seizure of the Fort and the arrest of Governor Mactavish had incensed the English settlers, and Colonel Dennis had been able to get several parties of them together for drill. With his headquarters at Lower Fort Garry, he set about organising a force to oppose Riel, but many of the English, though they disapproved of the rising, remained passive. While attending to his episcopal work and his lectures in the College and his teaching in the College School, the Bishop viewed the situation in Red River with great misgivings and deep anxiety. Knowing most of what was going on, he was well informed as to the strength and character of the force Dennis was getting together, and he could not see that it had a chance of success against the French—the time when success was so probable as to be almost a certainty had gone past. Riel now had the enormous advantage of position ; he had cannon in the Fort ; his men were armed with Enfield rifles ; there was an abundance of ammunition and of provisions ; he had his spies all about, and the English could make no move without his being aware of it.

Most members of the Canada party, of which Dr. Schultz, afterwards Sir John Schultz and a Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, was the leader, had assembled in Schultz's house ready to support Dennis, but even with their assistance the Bishop thought the enterprise was hopeless. On December 6 the Bishop went to Fort Garry and demanded of Riel that he should have

an interview with Mactavish in the general interests of the Settlement, and Riel did not refuse him his demand. Admitted to the Fort, the Bishop used his eyes while he was being escorted to and from the apartments of the Governor, with whom he had a lengthy conversation. The result of his observations and of this conversation was a long letter, written on the same day, to Colonel Dennis, in which the Bishop urged him to abandon the attempt on the Fort. He wrote :

Instead of a breaking down of the force of the insurgents, I feel certain, from my observations at Fort Garry to-day, and from information from Mr. Mactavish and others I can rely on, that over 600 men are now in arms, and they are well armed. I see no reason to depend on want of courage or determination on the part of these men. In addition to this strong exhibition of force, there is a belief, apparently on good authority, in a determination to avenge loss of life, if they are attacked, by house-to-house massacring, or, at any rate, by individual assassination.

I feel, therefore, that success in an attack with such forces as you can bring together, with nothing of the common action of the insurgents here, is problematical, and that the warfare is likely to be such that a victory will only be less fatal to the Settlement and the interests of the Canadian Government than a defeat. . . . The force of the insurgents has only grown with opposition, and is now, I believe, quite a match for all that can be brought together against them. I would therefore earnestly advise the giving up of any idea of attacking the French position at Fort Garry at present, and also any idea of seizing by stealth on any rebel. Put away such counsel, for a time at least ; I feel that the result to be anticipated would be very disastrous. I see everything to be gained by delay ; at any rate, there would be an opportunity perhaps of bringing about some direct communication between Governor M'Dougall and the disaffected people ; I think you should, on every account, bring that about.

Further, it would be well not to act until you ascertain clearly the mind of the Canadian Ministry and people on the way of settling this affair; and I think something is due to the people from Governor M'Dougall. I for one am at this moment perfectly ignorant of any detail of the character or policy of the (Canadian) Government. Personally, I do not care for this: I am not only fervently loyal to the Queen (Victoria), but I have unquestioning confidence in the management of Canada. I know all will be right; still, there is, nevertheless, a great want; a very conciliatory attitude is what is wanted from Governor M'Dougall, and a plain setting forth of how the Government here is to be conducted, meeting, as far as possible, the wishes expressed by the disaffected persons, and perhaps referring others to Canada, but promising a generous consideration of the whole grievances. This may not be altogether palatable, but the crisis is a grave one for Canada, and much wisdom is needed.

I would not so write did I not feel certain that, if the present numbers of the insurgents keep up, an attack is not feasible, and did I not also feel that some attempt should be made by those having authority and knowledge to enter into explanations with them before making any attack. The late Government of Assiniboia could not do this, for it had no information: all that could be done was to counsel loyal obedience, but at this time something more is called for than that.

On the following day Riel, with 300 men and some guns, surrounded the house of Dr. Schultz, and compelled the surrender of practically the whole Canada party, including Schultz, Mrs. Schultz, and two other ladies, the total number being forty-eight, though rumour magnified the figure into sixty. This crushing blow to the hopes of the militant loyalists was delivered by Riel with such astuteness and complete success that not a drop of blood was shed on either side. The captives were conducted to the Fort and imprisoned,

under a large guard of armed rebels, who had instructions to shoot any one attempting to escape. On the evening of the same day the Bishop sent a messenger to Colonel Dennis at Lower Fort Garry, with the following letter :

> There is a report that you think of coming up at once with the force you have. I do not suppose this is the case, but I am sure any effort at present is hopeless. They (the insurgents) now hold about sixty prisoners, and are more than 600 in number, and elated. You must be quiet ; probably the lives of the prisoners may depend on this. The truth is, nothing can be done by you ; only evil is now to be apprehended from action.

At the foot of this letter was a note from the Archdeacon of Assiniboia :

> I most fully concur in all the Bishop says.
>
> J. M'Lean, Archdeacon.

The Bishop's advice, which in his second letter took more the form of a positive command, that Colonel Dennis should abandon an attack on Riel and Fort Garry, was not exactly "palatable" to all who had joined Dennis, but its effect was instant and profound. Colonel Dennis disbanded his force and gave up the enterprise altogether. He issued a peace proclamation from Lower Fort Garry, asking the loyalists to unite peacefully in sending a deputation to M'Dougall. On December 11 he went to Pembina to see M'Dougall, and as the state of affairs continued unpropitious for them, both M'Dougall and Dennis left for Canada a week later. Two months afterwards Dennis wrote an acknowledgment of the wisdom of the Bishop's action, and expressed "heartfelt thankfulness that my proceedings had not been the cause (even

to the extent of a drop) of bloodshed among the people." On December 10 Riel hoisted the flag of the Provisional Government on Fort Garry, and refused all requests to set his prisoners free. When he heard that M'Dougall was returning to Canada, Riel's megalomania became still more pronounced.

Hitherto he had refrained from laying hands on the safe of the Hudson's Bay Company in Fort Garry; he now took it and helped himself to all the cash in it, paying his "soldiers" fifteen to twenty dollars a month in addition to their rations, also supplied involuntarily by the Company. As the Company had acted as the bankers of the Settlement, cashing and issuing drafts on London, the confiscation of their funds meant what amounted to a stoppage of nearly all payments in Red River generally, and consequently much financial embarrassment ensued. To add to the intense tension of the time, a rumour gained currency that 1100 Sioux were on the war-path from Minnesota, and another rumour was that Riel was acting in secret collusion with Fenians and Americans to bring about the annexation of the country to the United States. On Christmas Day, 1869, John Bruce resigned the Presidentship of the Provisional Government, and Riel appointed himself to the vacant position.

While the Bishop was averting civil war from the Settlement, and by that means also making improbable an Indian war with all its unspeakable horrors, the situation in Red River was exciting increased attention both in England and in Canada. Very little interest had been taken in it till after the capture of Fort Garry by Riel, and after that event, the news of what was going on in the Settlement which reached London and Ottawa, being mainly received through the agency

of unfriendly American journals, was not regarded as particularly reliable. Letters were sent from Red River by the settlers to both capitals, but the rebels tampered with the mails, and some of these communications never arrived at their destination. In time, however, the British and Dominion Governments got a tolerably accurate notion of the state of affairs.

Among those who wrote to the Imperial Government was the Bishop. Earl Granville was the Secretary for the Colonies at this time, but the Bishop, fearing lest the rebels would inspect and perhaps destroy correspondence dealing with political matters, did not write direct to him, nor were these letters in ordinary English. He had arranged, as it happened, with his friend, Mr. Williams-Ellis, who was still in Cambridge, to employ a cipher, should the necessity arise to have recourse to such a medium. The cipher used was a somewhat original one, being made from the Latin Grace read in Sidney College by the Scholars of the College before dinner in Hall. The words of the Grace, which is similar to that of the other colleges of Cambridge, are :

Oculi omnium ad te spectant, Domine : tu das eis escam eorum in tempore opportuno. Aperis tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione tua. Sanctifica nos, quaesumus, per verbum et orationem ; istisque tuis donis, quae de tua bonitate sumus percepturi, benedicito per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

The alphabet for the cipher was formed by taking a sufficient number of letters in the first words of the Grace, avoiding repetitions of letters ; thus *oculi* supplied *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *omnium* gave in *m* and *n* the next letters *f* and *g*, *ad* furnished *h* and *i*, and so on.

Mr. Williams-Ellis received several letters in this cipher from the Bishop during the Rebellion, deciphered them, and sent a version of them, or of portions of them, in ordinary writing to Lord Granville, who in this way was kept informed, to a certain extent at any rate, of what was taking place in Red River Settlement. Naturally the Bishop did not despatch many letters to other people at this critical period, but on December 21 he wrote to the C.M.S. in London a letter which duly reached the Society. In this he said: "The insurrection may probably result in the loss to the British Empire of a country full of hope, and that might have become a prosperous home for millions of England's poor."

Evidently the fear to which he gave utterance was based on the idea that some occurrence might give a pretext for the intervention of the United States, with the result that, once having gained possession of the North-West, they would not have relinquished it; besides, there were several American citizens in the Settlement who made no secret of their desire for the annexation of Rupert's Land, and sought to influence in that direction their countrymen in America. He went on to state to the C.M.S. that the Rebellion had brought, for the time being at least, all Church and missionary action to a standstill; he ended the letter with the now familiar words, which expressed for both Church and State the desire of his heart and the aim of his being: "We shall try to hold our ground."

Amongst those in Canada who regarded with grave apprehensions the disturbances in Red River was Mr. Donald A. Smith, now Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, known throughout the Empire for his philanthropy and a patriotism singularly spirited and

unselfish. When these events were happening in and about Fort Garry, this gentleman was the chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in their "Eastern District," and his headquarters were at Montreal. From his connection with the Company he was in a position to be especially well informed with respect to much that was taking place in the Settlement, and from his long and intimate acquaintance with the country, in which further he was interested by ties of marriage, he was able better than most to understand the situation of affairs in Rupert's Land. On November 24, 1869, he wrote to the Secretary of State of the Dominion at Ottawa offering the Government the services of the Hudson's Bay Company wherever they could be of use, and intimating at the same time his readiness personally to give any assistance in his power.

After some delay, the Dominion Government appointed him their "Special Commissioner," and asked him to proceed to Fort Garry. Writing to him on December 11, Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, then Governor-General of Canada, said that he had sent letters to Governor Mactavish, to Bishop Machray, and to the Vicar-General in Red River representing Bishop Taché, stating that he, as the representative of the Queen in British North America, assured them that the Imperial Government had no intention of acting otherwise than in good faith towards the people of Rupert's Land, whose claims and grievances would be considered and satisfied. By this time it had come to be suspected, if not realised, in Canada that serious blunders had been committed by the Dominion Government and by Mr. M'Dougall, and prior to the appointment of

Mr. Smith as Commissioner the Ottawa authorities had selected two French-Canadians, Roman Catholics, Vicar-General Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry, to go to Red River as their Commissioners, but had not conferred on them such extensive powers as they gave to Mr. Smith.

The three Commissioners arrived in the Settlement about the same date. Mr. Smith, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Hardisty, also an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, reached Pembina on the American side of the frontier, where he took the precaution of leaving his Commission and other important documents in safe hands, and, pushing on, presented himself on December 27 at Fort Garry, to which he was admitted by Riel, who kept him a prisoner, more or less, for the next two months: he was allowed a certain amount of freedom, and was permitted to see persons from the Settlement. Learning of his arrival, the Bishop and other leading members of the community called on him immediately, and made him fully acquainted with all that had occurred since the beginning of the Rebellion.

CHAPTER X

RED RIVER REBELLION (*continued*)

1870

One aspect of the position of affairs in Red River Settlement at the opening of 1870 was shown in a letter, dated New Year's Day, which the Bishop addressed to the C.M.S. in London, stating that, in consequence of the insurgents having seized the funds in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry, he had been compelled to draw on the Society for a hundred pounds by a bill at sight, and that a local gentleman had been kind enough to cash it. The missionaries were in the greatest straits for want of money, and this sum was required for their most urgent necessities.

Another and more important phase of the situation was indicated in a communication which Mr. Donald Smith, the Special Commissioner, sent on January 4 to Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of the Dominion. He wrote: "Bishop Machray called on me to-day, and he evidently has not the slightest hope that anything short of the introduction of a considerable body of troops can result in restoring order." Mr. Smith added that a similar opinion prevailed amongst the leading loyalists in the Settlement. He

deprecated any action which would lead to a conflict between the loyalists and the rebels, for that would mean setting the French section of the community against the English, or, in other words, civil war between the settlers. Besides the bloodshed and the embittered animosities such a course would inevitably cause, there was also to be considered the great probability that another result of such a struggle would be an appeal for the intervention of the United States—a thing in every way undesirable. He concluded his letter by asking that troops should be despatched as soon as possible from Canada to Red River. Doubtless the Bishop, in these letters of his in cipher to Mr. Williams-Ellis, had made much the same representations to Earl Granville, the Colonial Secretary.

For the moment, however, all was fairly quiet in Red River, with Riel in possession of Fort Garry, and apparently complete master of the situation. Arrangements having previously been made, the Bishop, in January, held a Visitation, with Confirmations, in the Indian missions of the C.M.S. lying to the north of the Settlement, including the mission at Fort Alexander, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Winnipeg River, near its entrance into Lake Winnipeg. The mission at this Fort, which was about 100 miles from Fort Garry, was then in the capable hands of the Rev. R. Phair, now Archdeacon. The Bishop, while discharging his episcopal duties with his habitual thoroughness, took advantage of the opportunity this Visitation presented of seeing how the Indians regarded the rebellion in Red River, and of strengthening them in their loyalty to their "Great White Mother," Queen Victoria. Returning to Bishop's Court about the end of the second week in

January, he observed that a change had come about in the situation generally, which held out the hope of some improvement. As has been mentioned, Mr. Donald Smith, though a prisoner in Fort Garry, had been allowed certain privileges, such as seeing and conversing with those who called on him, amongst whom were the principal people of the French as well as of the English parishes. Admitting to them that mistakes had been made which should be rectified, and that the settlers had grievances which must be redressed, he told them that he appeared in the Settlement as a mediator, and assured them in the most solemn and convincing manner, as representing the Dominion, of the goodwill of Canada towards the settlers, whose just rights and demands it would respect and satisfy.

The effect of the Commissioner's words was so great that many of Riel's followers began to have serious doubts of the wisdom of what he had done, and there was a marked diminution in his influence. Becoming aware that his power was waning owing to Mr. Smith, Riel asked him to produce his Commission from the Dominion Government. Mr. Smith, it will be remembered, had left the Commission and some other valuable documents for safety at Pembina on the American side of the frontier. After some discussion, it was agreed that Mr. Hardisty, the Commissioner's brother-in-law, should be sent to fetch the papers—which eventually reached Mr. Smith, but not till after a plot for their seizure by Riel had been foiled. Suspecting treachery, a party of the well-affected French settlers protected Mr. Hardisty on his return journey, and guarded the papers from Riel's emissaries, who otherwise would have given them to Riel, and

then, judging from some of his actions, there would have been an end of them. These well-affected French settlers were so disgusted with the conduct of Riel, and at the same time so impressed with the desirability of acquainting the whole Settlement with what Mr. Smith had to say as the representative of the Dominion, that, with the co-operation of some of the English, they summoned a general meeting of the people of Red River, to be held on January 19, notwithstanding the opposition of Riel.

While matters had thus taken a turn for the better from the loyalist point of view, sinister but powerful influences were at work, bringing all the French, or the great majority of them, once more into line with Riel. From the beginning of the rebellion his chief lieutenants and advisers had been a priest, who was not a Canadian, but a native of France, named Lestanc, and a person called O'Donoghue, a teacher in St. Boniface School and a candidate for the Roman Catholic priesthood. The support of Riel by these two prominent Roman Catholics and another priest, Père Richot, produced an impression in Red River that the Rebellion was fostered and upheld by the Roman Catholic Church. On January 18, the day before that fixed for the general meeting, Père Lestanc had so prevailed upon those who had threatened to fall away from Riel, that when the meeting was held the French presented a united front. Perhaps Lestanc appealed to them as Roman Catholics to support their co-religionists, or to their French jealousy of their British countrymen ; at all events, he accomplished his object, and once more the star of Riel was in the ascendant.

The meeting on January 19 did not lack elements of an unusual and even dramatic character. A thousand

people, drawn from all parts of the Settlement, assembled—in itself a tribute to Mr. Smith ; never before had so great a gathering been seen in the North-West, nor was there any hall in the place large enough to accommodate so many.

The meeting was held in the open air on the snow-covered, frozen ground, with the thermometer standing at twenty degrees below zero, Fahrenheit, the sky a pale blue, and the wind, keen and cold, sweeping in from across the prairie. On one side were Bishop Machray, supported by the local clergy, and Judge Black, with the leading loyalists ; on the other, a number of Roman Catholic priests, with the Vicar-General Thibault and Père Lestanc at their head, and the chief members of their flock. In the crowd were mingled English, Scottish, and French settlers, employees of the Company, traders, trappers, and Americans, most of them well known to each other and well disposed enough only a few months before, all dressed in fur caps and fur coats, or thick blue or black "capotes," belted round the waist by bright, many-coloured woollen scarves ; on the outskirts were groups of Indians in their blankets, come to hear the pale-faces talk. Around this mass of people was a great multitude of sleighs of every kind, the horses and ponies standing patient and motionless, with buffalo "robes" thrown over them as a protection from the blast. Beyond the few houses of nascent Winnipeg stretched the wilderness—white, silent, and solitary. There was a great hum of talk at times ; then again a dead quiet, while the English and French eyed each other narrowly and suspiciously ; most of those present were armed, and blood might have flowed freely that day. All was hushed as Riel, O'Donoghue, De Salaberry, one of the

French Canadian Commissioners, and Smith, the Special Commissioner, emerged from the gate of the Fort, and took up a position on a small platform flanked by tumbrils.

It was Riel who first spoke. Apparently accepting the situation, he moved that an English settler, named Thomas Bunn, be chairman, and this was agreed to; Judge Black consented to act as secretary, and Riel himself figured in the rôle of interpreter. On the Chairman's invitation, Mr. Smith read a letter from the Dominion Secretary of State addressed to him regarding his mission to Red River, and a letter also addressed to himself from Sir John Young, the Governor-General of Canada. In this letter Sir John Young stated that he had sent letters to Governor Mactavish, to Bishop Machray, and to the Roman Catholic Vicar-General, respecting the situation, and that at the same time he had sent copies of a message received by telegraph from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Granville) with reference to the disturbances.

The burden of Sir John's communication was contained in the sentence, "Right shall be done in all cases." Riel translated both letters into French, and they were well received. Then occurred a startling incident which very nearly led to an outbreak. The Governor-General had mentioned that he had sent a letter and a copy of a message from Lord Granville to Governor Mactavish, and a similar letter and copy to Bishop Machray; these, it appeared, had been entrusted to Vicar-General Thibault for delivery on his arrival in the Settlement, but had not been delivered, as they had been seized by Riel. Turning to the Vicar-General, Mr. Smith asked him, by request of Governor

Mactavish, he said, for the Governor-General's letter to that official, whereupon Thibault admitted that he had given it to the rebel leaders ; it appeared that it was in the hands of O'Donoghue, Riel's "Secretary of the Treasury." Mr. Smith then asked that this letter should be produced, and Bishop Machray made the same request with respect to the letter that had been addressed to him. Riel objected strongly, but after some heated words a motion for the production of the letters was passed by a large majority. Riel protested that he did not know where the letters were, but another French half-breed, in some sort a rival to Riel, went into the Fort, accompanied by O'Donoghue who had tried to stop him, searched a safe, and found the missing documents.

While this was going on Smith read the telegraphic message from Lord Granville, of which, unknown to Riel, he had had a copy in his possession. In this message the Colonial Secretary said that the Queen had heard with great regret that certain misguided persons in the Settlement had banded together to oppose the union with the Dominion, the authorities of which were enjoined to make every effort to "conciliate the goodwill of the people of Red River." The day's proceedings had now occupied five hours, and a motion was passed that the meeting should adjourn till the following day. Before the gathering dispersed, however, there was a demand by the English that the prisoners in the Fort should be released. "Not to-day," said Riel. There were angry cries of protest ; at a sign from Riel the French sprang to arms, and for a moment it looked as if blood would be shed, but the English did not take up the challenge.

Next day a still larger number of people attended

the meeting, which was held in the same place and in much the same circumstances. Mr. Smith began by reading the letter from Sir John Young, which had been seized from Thibault and subsequently rescued by Riel's rival, a person named Laveiller. In this letter were repeated the assurances that Red River would be liberally treated by both the Imperial and Dominion Governments.

Then followed the reading of letters from the Dominion Secretary to Mr. M'Dougall, written in the preceding year before the latter had gone to Pembina, which showed that the intentions of the Canadian Government were friendly to the settlers. All these communications produced an excellent impression, and after an interval for luncheon and private deliberation, Riel himself moved that a Convention of the settlers should be convoked for the next week, consisting of twenty representatives from the English parishes, and twenty from the French, for the purpose of bringing about a settlement. The proposal was accepted, and a committee, consisting of the Bishop and four others, was appointed to allot representatives for the English section of the community. The greatest good feeling was manifested ; men tossed their caps into the air for joy ; Englishmen and Frenchmen shook hands, and all promised well. Conciliatory speeches were made by Père Richot and by the Bishop, who said, in response to a friendly allusion to himself by the priest, that he heartily acknowledged the kind feeling expressed, and was sure that every one would do what was possible to promote union and concord. Reminding them that the rights of all present were the same, he thought that on all reasonable propositions there could not be much difference of opinion. "For his part he had

the greatest hope that their coming together on this occasion, and their gathering next week as proposed, would lead to a happy settlement of public affairs, and that thereafter they would be as united in the future as they had been in the past." Before the assembly dispersed cheers were given for the Bishop, Père Lestanc, and one or two other prominent people in the Settlement. On the following day the committee of the English section met at Bishop's Court, and allotted the numbers of representatives to the Convention for each of the English parishes, which shortly afterwards elected them.

It seemed as if everything was about to be settled, and that Mr. Smith's mission had met with the complete success it deserved ; Riel, however, was of quite another mind. He had promised to disband a part of his armed followers, but a rumour, with the authorship of which he was generally and probably correctly credited, was spread abroad that the English and Scottish settlers were about to march on Fort Garry with the object of setting free Dr. Schultz and the other Canadians who were imprisoned within it, and though there was no foundation for the report, it afforded him a pretext for not carrying out his promise.

On January 23 Dr. Schultz managed to escape from the Fort—to Riel's rage and mortification ; the "President" sent out men in every direction to try to recapture him, but Schultz contrived to elude them. Of all his opponents Riel regarded him as the most formidable, and his escape both angered and alarmed him. Schultz's escape and the rumour above alluded to had the effect of drawing the French once more round Riel, and he had no difficulty in most cases in securing the return of his own nominees to the

Convention. At first the English representatives were in doubt whether to attend the Convention, and only a small number were present on the opening day, January 26. Their doubts were increased when one of themselves was arrested by Riel without a reason being assigned, but he was almost at once released, and on January 27 there was a full attendance at the Court-House, in which the Convention was held. Mr. Smith was present by request, and again affirmed that the Dominion meant well by the people of Red River. A committee was appointed to frame a List of Rights[1] which was to be submitted to Mr. Smith ; the list was drawn up, and he approved of them in the main. On February 4 the Convention agreed that the country would enter the Canadian Confederation as a Territory.

Again all promised well, and it appeared that a speedy and amicable settlement was assured ; again Riel blocked the way. He brought forward a motion that all bargains with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transfer of the country to the Dominion should be declared null and void ; the motion was lost by twenty-two votes to seventeen. Riel was highly incensed, and declared that the motion must be carried. To overawe resistance he threatened Governor Mactavish with violence, and made some further arrests in the Settlement, but he eventually dropped the matter. On February 8 Mr. Smith invited the Convention to

[1] It was probably at this time that Riel made a proposal to the Bishop with respect to the £300 a year which the Hudson's Bay Company had covenanted to pay the Bishops of Rupert's Land as part of the income of the Bishopric. Writing on March 24, 1870, to Sir Stafford Northcote (afterwards Earl of Iddesleigh), one of the trustees of the Leith Bequest, from which was derived the major portion of the income of the Bishops of Rupert's Land, the Bishop said : "Riel, the President of the Provisional Government, wished the securing of £300 now made by the Company to me by a clause in the arrangements with Canada, but I succeeded in getting him to desist from that."

send two delegates to Ottawa to represent the Settlement when the final arrangements were being made. To this Riel agreed, but he insisted that meanwhile his Provisional Government and his own position as its President must be recognised by the Convention. A demand was made by the English representatives for the release by Riel of the Canadian prisoners, and he did release them, although he had heard rumours of the formation of armed bands of English settlers in Portage la Prairie with a view to his overturn. But he was still easily master of the situation.

The Bishop had counselled his people to send representatives to the Convention, and he followed its proceedings with alternating hopes and fears. He wondered why it was that the Imperial Government did not take prompt action, but the Liberals of that day who were in power had not a strong Colonial policy—they were disposed, in fact, to let the vast and magnificent Colonial Empire drift away from England without putting forth much effort to restrain it from doing so. Writing to the S.P.G. on February 12, the Bishop referred to the "hard and uncomfortable times in the land, where we never know what may be the calamity of to-morrow." In this "cruel state of things the British Government and people seem to be deaf to the sound of our grievous troubles. Sometimes there is hope of a quiet settlement, and then the hope departs and the condition of things is only worse than before. Yet if only a settlement could be brought about, I believe you would see a wonderful development in this country—a change so rapid as not to have a parallel in any British colony." When the middle of February arrived there was less chance of a quiet and peaceful settlement than ever before, and the situation had

become so aggravated that it seemed almost impossible to avoid civil war; that it was avoided was largely owing to the action taken by the Bishop with the support of his two principal clergymen, Archdeacon M'Lean and Archdeacon Cowley.

Portage la Prairie, now a flourishing Manitoba town, was an English parish on the Assiniboine, some sixty miles from Fort Garry; forty years ago it had so considerable a population that it was thought by some that the small village growing up in it at that time would be the chief city of the North-West instead of Winnipeg. In the beginning of February several of the Portage settlers met, and determined to organise armed opposition to Riel. A body of fifty or sixty of them marched down the Assiniboine as far as Headingley, raising their compatriots as they went. On the nights of February 14 and 15 about a hundred of the settlers on the Assiniboine met some three hundred settlers on the Red River at Kildonan, the old Selkirk Settlement. These men were without proper arms or ammunition, and had no provisions; yet they sought to overthrow Riel and 700 Frenchmen, for he had got together that number in Fort Garry at his back, all well armed, with plenty of ammunition and stores of all kinds, and the advantage of position in their possession of the Fort, which also was defended by cannon.

No more rash or foolhardy enterprise could well be imagined; its only chance of success was to bring off a sudden and unexpected attack, but Riel had his spies out, and knew perfectly what was taking place; he was quite ready to meet any attack of the kind with an absolute certainty of defeating it easily. The Bishop visited the camp of the English, and once again had to

tell his people something very far from "palatable"—that in the circumstances they were no match for Riel and his rebels, and that any operations against the insurgents on their part could result in nothing but disaster. Archdeacon M'Lean and Archdeacon Cowley spoke in the same strain, and they were supported by some of the principal laymen. The Bishop advised the men to keep the peace, disperse, and return to their homes. The advice, though unpalatable, was seen to be sound, and it was taken. So far all was well, and all would have been well had not the party of Portage settlers acted with astonishing want of judgment.

Returning from Kildonan *en route* for the Portage, these men had the imprudence to pass within a short distance of Fort Garry, whence they were seen by the rebels, who quickly surrounded them, and far outnumbering them, so that resistance was useless, took them prisoners and led them inside the Fort; had the Portage men made a detour this misfortune would never have taken place. Riel had just liberated his Canadian prisoners, and these men were thrust into the rooms the former had vacated. Four of them, including a Major Boulton (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel and a Senator), an army officer who had been but a short time in the Settlement, were sentenced to death by Riel. On the intercession of the Bishop, Archdeacon M'Lean, Mr. Smith, and others, all save Boulton were pardoned. Riel said Boulton must be shot; the pleadings of the Bishop and of the Archdeacon were of no avail; the Archdeacon administered the last Sacrament, and Boulton had made up his mind that he was doomed, when Mr. Smith succeeded in inducing Riel to pardon him, on the understanding that the English

would agree to send delegates to a Council or Legislative Assembly Riel proposed calling as head of the Provisional Government.

When Riel spared Boulton's life he said to Mr. Smith, "We want only our just rights as British subjects, and we want the English to join us, simply to obtain them." Smith replied that he would at once see about getting the English to go on with the election of delegates to the Council. Thereupon Riel said, "If you can do this war will be avoided, and the prisoners set free." The plain meaning was that if the English refused, Riel intended to fight. Mr. Smith saw the Bishop and Archdeacon M'Lean, told them what had passed between him and Riel, and advised them to counsel their people to elect delegates. The Bishop thought the advice in this extremity[1] was good, and he and his clergy accordingly counselled the English to proceed with the election of delegates without loss of time. Archdeacon M'Lean accompanied Mr. Smith, now released from Fort Garry, through the Settlement, telling the people what was their best course in the position they now occupied. The elections took place on February 26.

With reference to this time the Bishop wrote to the S.P.G., in June of that year, some person having spoken warmly about the English-speaking people not fighting the question out with the French: "There was no want of will, but the fact is that there was nothing but indiscriminate ruin to be expected from a contest in this small Settlement between the English and French half-breeds. The English had the advantage of intelli-

[1] "The moment was a fearful one for the Settlement, for every man's life was in the hands of Riel."—Commissioner Smith's Report to the Canadian Government, quoted from Begg's *History of the North-West*.

gence, but the disadvantage in army and position. It was well there was no contest—however galling the state of subjection, for so it may to a certain extent be called." Writing to the C.C.C.S. the Bishop said: "You are aware, doubtless, from the newspapers of the terrible winter we are passing through. Sometimes there has been imminent risk of a contest between the English and French in the Settlement, the consequences of which would have been dreadful. As it is, the English have been induced to remain quiet, though what has been done is very distasteful to them. We have some hope now of a settlement that may allow Canada to enter quietly on the government of the country, and yet remove from the French what grounds they may have for apprehension. . . . If we had a few troops here, all would soon be quiet enough."

Referring to the advice he gave to the English settlers to elect delegates to the Legislative Assembly, he stated to Sir John Young, in a long letter, dated March 18, reviewing the whole situation, and from which much of the information in this and the preceding chapter has been derived: "It is nothing but necessity that has led the English in any way to meet in council with the French; the necessity has been partly to aid the liberation of the prisoners, and partly to avoid the often-threatened carrying of war through the little Settlement, and to see whether anything could be done to assist an amicable arrangement." The English, he continued, had "done what they could in cruelly trying circumstances to moderate the demands of the French." Had there been fighting, "victory to the English would only have been a little less disastrous than defeat. From the time the French mustered 600 against Colonel

Dennis, the only wise policy was to try to avoid a collision."

On March 4 an event occurred which, when news of it reached Canada, caused the wildest excitement. This was the shooting of one of the prisoners, a Canadian named Thomas Scott, after a "trial" by court-martial. The charges brought against this unfortunate man were hardly, even in Riel's eyes, it may be supposed, such as to appear to justify his condemnation to the extreme penalty ; the truth seems to be that Riel's megalomania, which had been much increased by his continued success, drove him on to think that the execution of Scott would strike terror into the English, and firmly establish his power. He was deaf to all entreaties that Scott's life should be spared ; he said he had pardoned others, but this man must be made an example. Yet the settlers long refused to believe that Riel would shoot him, and thought he would pardon him at the last moment as in Boulton's case. The sentence, however, was carried out, and, as the firing-party bungled their work, in circumstances of shocking brutality. Scott had been attended up to within a short time of his death by a Wesleyan minister, the Rev. Mr. Young, an active loyalist. Next day Mr. Young begged Riel for Scott's body for burial, and his request was reinforced by the Bishop, but Riel refused it. It was generally supposed that the body was thrust under the ice of the Assiniboine. After the tragedy Commissioner Smith would have nothing more to do with Riel, except to get a pass from him to leave the country, which he did on March 18.

Meanwhile three delegates had been chosen to represent the settlers at Ottawa—Judge Black, Father Richot, and a Winnipeg man called Alfred Scott. Judge

Black at first declined, but being pressed by Mr. Smith, finally consented to go.

Affairs suddenly took on a better appearance when Bishop Taché arrived in the Settlement on March 8; had he come in time it is probable that Scott would not have been shot; it is also likely that if he had not been absent from Red River during that winter the Rebellion would never have taken place. The Bishop, who had been present at the great Ecumenical Council at Rome, had had an interview with the Dominion Government at Ottawa as he came through Canada, and he had promised them to use his influence in the direction of pacification and conciliation. Certainly from the day he made his appearance at Fort Garry there was a marked change, a decided improvement in the Settlement. Preaching on Sunday, March 13, to a congregation that crowded St. Boniface Cathedral, Bishop Taché made an eloquent appeal for unity amongst the settlers of Red River, and urged that religious differences should be put aside while all worked for the common good. He stated that it was his sincere conviction that the intentions of the Dominion Government were entirely friendly. As Bishop Taché was held in high esteem not only by the French, but also by the English, his words were widely quoted, and there was much less excitement afterwards in the Settlement. The Council or Legislative Assembly met, and on March 15 Bishop Taché, having been invited to attend its session on that day, made a speech, the nature of which was summed up in one of his observations, "I am a Canadian, and proud of that title." His influence was also seen in an arrangement by which the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to resume business at Fort Garry, though the Company did not

actually do so till towards the end of April. On March 23 two of the Red River delegates, Richot and Scott, left for Ottawa, Judge Black following next day. Commissioner Smith had departed for Ottawa on March 18. On the same day Bishop Machray sent the long despatch to Sir John Young which has been previously referred to. In this the Bishop wrote :

> May I be permitted to say that the Dominion Government has had in Mr. Smith a most conscientious and devoted representative ; his position was one of great difficulty and delicacy, as well as of unpleasantness. I am in great hopes that Mgr. Taché will be able to calm his flock ; he has ever been held in the greatest respect by the English as well as the French. . . . Should things yet take a wrong turn, the position of the English section will be awkward and dangerous in the extreme, and we can see nothing but utter ruin staring the country in the face. But I hope for better things. I think there is at last a sign of light breaking on us. Your Excellency may, at any rate, depend on my doing my best in the way I judge to be wisest for securing the entrance of this country into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada—that has always been my most anxious desire.

In this letter the Bishop pointed out that one cause of the Rebellion had been the absence of British troops in the Settlement, and he reminded Sir John Young that Governor Mactavish, and his predecessor Governor Dallas, had repeatedly asked the Imperial Government to send a small force to Red River for its protection and for the maintenance of law and order, but no soldiers had been sent. The presence of troops, the Bishop intimated, was necessary in the Settlement now. When Mr. Smith arrived at Ottawa he expressed the same opinion to the Dominion authorities. But before this time the latter had begun to make preparations for sending troops into the country ; the Imperial Government

were approached, and on March 4 Lord Granville telegraphed to Ottawa that they would give military assistance to the proposed expedition. Before allowing the troops to start the Imperial Government required Canada to agree that the rights and privileges of the Red River settlers should be respected, and that on disputed points the Imperial Government should act as referee; the troops were not to be employed in forcing the sovereignty of Canada on the settlers should they refuse it.

Early in April Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley, then Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Queen's forces in Canada, commenced to superintend the assembling and despatch of the expeditionary force from Collingwood in Ontario to Red River, but it did not arrive at Fort William, on the west side of Lake Superior, until towards the end of May, and then had hundreds of miles of wilderness to traverse before gaining its destination. News of the preparations, however, did not reach the Settlement very soon, for as late as the middle of April the Bishop wrote to the S.P.G.: "Things here remain in a very sad condition. I doubt whether England ever in her history has allowed matters to go as they have done here for the past six months. If she does not act in some way to ensure protection and order for her loyal subjects, what is the meaning of her claim to Empire? At present, however, all is quiet, but there is no security, and consequently there cannot be confidence." Then he expressed his satisfaction that Churchmen had taken no part in the insurrection against Canada or England, whichever way the affair was regarded, and spoke of his desire to visit England both for Church purposes and to assist in removing any unfavourable ideas of Rupert's Land

which the Rebellion might have occasioned. Before long, however, he heard of the organisation of the "Red River Expedition," and at once took such steps as were possible in his situation to forward and help it on.

Dr. Schultz, as the leader of the Canada party in Red River, his imprisonment in Fort Garry by Riel, and his escape, have already been mentioned in this narrative. He remained in the Settlement for some weeks after his escape from the Fort, and was a volunteer in the loyalist movement of mid-February which ended in the Boulton fiasco and the shooting of Thomas Scott. Not long after the last event he started from Lower Fort Garry for Canada, with a view to rousing his countrymen to take stern measures. Riel had declared him an outlaw, and had condemned him to be shot "on sight," and as it was therefore difficult, if not impossible, for him to leave the country by the ordinary route through Pembina, he walked on snow-shoes, accompanied by an English half-breed guide, to Duluth, on Lake Superior, a distance of some five hundred miles, and a journey the arduousness of which it is not easy to exaggerate. From Duluth he went to Ottawa and other Canadian centres, to find, however, that his mission had been anticipated, for the tidings of the shooting of Scott by Riel had caused tremendous excitement throughout Ontario, and there was a great cry for vengeance. When Richot and Alfred Scott, two of the delegates from Red River, arrived in Canada they were at once arrested and thrown into prison on a charge of being concerned in the death of Scott, but as there was no evidence to sustain the accusation, they were soon released.

Richot was known to have been one of Riel's

lieutenants, and Alfred Scott was a nominee of the French section, and their arrest, though quite unjustifiable, at any rate showed the bitterness of Canadian feeling. After their release they, with Judge Black, the third Red River delegate, had several interviews with the Dominion Government, and helped to frame an Act which passed the Canadian Houses of Parliament in May, providing for the formation of a province, known as Manitoba, out of the old District of Assiniboia and Red River Settlement, with some adjacent areas, while the rest of Rupert's Land was swallowed up under the designation of the "North-West Territories." Henceforth the name Rupert's Land vanished from the ordinary maps of America.

Meanwhile the Council or Legislative Assembly of Riel's Provisional Government had held several sessions, and had promulgated certain laws for the government of the Settlement. Now and again Riel came out with some bombastic proclamation. On April 20 he caused the Union Jack to be hoisted in place of the rebel flag, which had on it the *fleur-de-lis* and the shamrock as ensigns; the British flag was cut down by O'Donoghue, who favoured annexation to the United States, but was re-hoisted by Riel on April 28; no doubt Bishop Taché's influence was at work, and he may have heard by that time of the Red River Expedition Canada was preparing, and perhaps have been desirous of making a way of escape for Riel and the other rebels. During May quiet reigned in the Settlement; Richot returned in the beginning of June from Ottawa with a copy of the Manitoba Act, and on June 17 the Act was formally accepted by the Provisional Government, thereby ratifying the transfer of the country to Canada—whatever their ratification was worth. Riel was now aware of

the coming of troops, and was uneasy. His American friends told him that if he yielded the soldiers would make short work of him and his rebels, and urged him to meet force with force. Bishop Taché had a good deal of trouble to keep Riel quiet, but he succeeded by pledging his word of honour that the troops were on a mission of peace, and of peace alone.

At the end of June Bishop Taché went to Ottawa, with the object, it was believed, of procuring a general amnesty from the Dominion Government. Riel had no longer the following he had had during the winter ; with the opening of spring many of his supporters had returned to their farms, and the shooting of Scott had alienated not a few. The English, knowing that the Expedition was on the way, had nothing more to do with him. The first indication of the nearness of relief to them came in July when Lieutenant (now General Sir William) Butler arrived in Winnipeg, bringing a proclamation by Colonel Wolseley, the printing and distribution of which were superintended by Riel himself!

The Red River Expedition under Colonel Wolseley had advanced from Fort William, and after a hard and laborious journey mainly by water, had reached Fort Francis, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on Rainy River, now in the west of the Province of Ontario, on August 4. Here Wolseley[1] was met by an English half-breed from Red River, named Joseph Monkman, who brought letters from Bishop Machray and others in Red River giving valuable information as to supplies for the troops and the proceedings of the rebels. The Bishop said that affairs in the Settlement were still in a bad state, that the French and the English mutu-

[1] *The Story of a Soldier's Life*, by Viscount Wolseley, vol. ii. p. 203.

ally distrusted each other, and that both feared the Indians, whose loyalty had been shaken by Riel's conduct. On the other hand, Henry Prince, chief of the Swampy Cree Indians, who lived in and about St. Peter's parish, of which Archdeacon Cowley then had charge, wrote in a loyal strain, and expressed his dislike of Riel and the rebels. But the one refrain of all these letters was: "Come on as quickly as you can, for the aspect of affairs is serious and threatening," a statement which indicates that after Bishop Taché had left the Settlement Riel was once more causing trouble.

From Fort Francis the Expedition made its way to Rat Portage on Lake of the Woods, where on August 12 Colonel Wolseley received another letter from Bishop Machray, in which he pressed that officer to send on at once a hundred men and a couple of guns.[1] But the Bishop had done more than merely write. He and some of the other English people of the Settlement had sent six boats, the expense of which was met by a subscription amongst them, to help the Expedition down the Winnipeg River from Rat Portage to Lake Winnipeg, whence it was an easy water journey to Fort Garry, the boats being in charge of one of the Bishop's clergy, the Rev. J. P. Gardiner of St. Andrew's. Wolseley, in his *Story of a Soldier's Life*, says this action of the Bishop and the other English loyalists gave him "what I stood most in need of, I mean really good and reliable guides." Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg, was reached on August 18, and Mr. Donald Smith, who had returned to the country on business connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, joined Colonel Wolseley there, and accompanied him to Red River. Then the Expedition went on to Fort Garry,

[1] Parliament (British), Paper C, 298, 1871.

without check or hindrance, and occupied it without a shot being fired, Riel and his friends making a hasty exit, and leaving their breakfasts smoking on the table. The Rebellion was at an end. "As we neared the Cathedral of the English Bishop," says Wolseley, "the Union Jack was loosed from its steeple, as an evidence to all people that the rebel rule had ceased, and that our Queen's authority was once more paramount there."

Even after his ignominious flight from Fort Garry Riel was for some time a menace to the peaceful development of Manitoba, and the "Riel Question" long vexed Canada, but he will not appear again in these pages until the narrative passes on to the year 1885, in which he instigated another insurrection among the Métis, not in Red River, but in the somewhat analogous Saskatchewan country. This chapter may appropriately be concluded with an extract from the story[1] of the North-West rebellions as told by Major Boulton, the gentleman who so narrowly escaped death at the hands of the rebel chief:

> Had hostilities been provoked, or the first shot in anger fired (between the English and the French settlers), the country in its isolated position would probably have been handed over to a scene of rapine, murder, and pillage fearful to contemplate, through the excitement of the Indian population, whose savage nature cannot be controlled when the opportunity for warfare presents itself. But, fortunately for Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company, the critical period passed. . . . To the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Judge Black, Mr. Donald A. Smith, Archdeacon M'Lean, and the Rev. Mr. Young, is chiefly due the salvation of the Settlement through the winter by the prudence of their policy and the influence of their counsels.

[1] *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions*, by Major Boulton, Toronto, 1886.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement of Major Boulton, as well as from the testimony of Colonel Dennis in the preceding chapter, that the Bishop's "unpalatable" policy met in the end with their warm approval—a policy which not only kept the Settlement at peace, and so held in check the Indians, but also prevented any pretext for intervention by the United States, and thus in all probability preserved Manitoba and the rest of the magnificent North-West, by long odds the finest heritage of England, to Canada and the Empire.

CHAPTER XI

FIRST DIVISION OF THE SEE

1871–1873

THOUGH the Rebellion was at an end, and a garrison of two battalions of Canadian militia in Winnipeg kept watch and ward over the country, civil affairs remained in some confusion while the new régime was being established. "Red River Settlement" and "Assiniboia" disappeared in "Manitoba," which became the fifth province of the Dominion, with a political system fashioned on the same plan as that of the other members of the Confederation. It was allotted a certain number of representatives in the Dominion Houses of Parliament, and the administration of local government was placed in the hands of a Lieutenant-Governor, who was appointed for a term of years by the Dominion, and a Cabinet or Ministry formed in the usual manner by the leader of the stronger party in a Provincial Legislature, the elections to which were on a popular basis.

Bishop Machray had expressed a wish to go to England for the winter of 1870-71, but he deferred the visit for a year for two reasons: one was that the civil authorities told him that they thought it was desirable to have his presence, support, and advice,

especially on educational questions, while the new order of things was being instituted; and the other was that Bishop Anderson wrote that he considered a visit to England so soon after the insurrection was perhaps inopportune—though Bishop Machray could not understand this objection, as his Church people had taken no part in the Rebellion. Mr. A. G. Archibald, a Nova Scotian and a Churchman, was selected as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and he arrived at Fort Garry, part of which now was called Government House, in the beginning of September 1870. The first elections to the local Legislature were held in January 1871. There were twenty-four seats, and of the men chosen to fill them twelve were Roman Catholics, eleven were members of the Church of England, and one was a Presbyterian, thus showing with fair accuracy the proportion both of French settlers to British and of Church people to the whole population.

Now that the country had been transferred to Canada, the Bishop looked forward to its being opened up to settlement at a comparatively early date, but he realised that there could be no immigration on a large scale until Manitoba, into which the new settlers would first come, was made as easily and inexpensively accessible as was possible considering the distance to be traversed. After the check—a marking time, as it were—caused by the Rebellion to the development of his plans, he went on with his preparations for the future. The facts which he had to face were that his vast Diocese was far too large to be worked efficiently by one Bishop, and that the Church was poorly provided with men and money. He thought that a large number of Canadians might be expected to migrate

from the older provinces of the Dominion to Manitoba ; some proportion of them would be Churchmen, while the rest would mostly be Presbyterians and Wesleyans. He asked himself what help he might anticipate receiving from the older Dioceses of Canada, and the answer was chilling and discouraging in the extreme ; on the other hand, he knew that the Presbyterians and Wesleyans in Ontario, the premier province of the Dominion, had determined to send ministers, with plenty of financial backing, into Manitoba and the North-West.

"Here we are," he wrote, "with a great colony about to be opened up to the world, and with no funds, whilst the various denominations are prepared to send experienced men and all necessary funds to found their bodies—men with the traditions, experiences, and sympathies of the new settlers that are coming. I have no hope of any aid from the Church in (old) Canada, for every Diocese there is bound up in itself." This being the case, he had to see what could be done in his own Diocese, and what the Church Societies in England were willing to do : with regard to the former he had been educating his people in the carrying out of the principle of self-support and in systematic giving to Church purposes ; with respect to the latter he set before them two main necessary objects—the division of the See and the building up of a strong missionary centre at St. John's in its College.

He had already written to the Church Societies, indicating that the division of the See was essential for the success of the Church in Rupert's Land. In the course of the winter of 1870-71 he urged his views on the C.M.S., the Society to which the great majority of his clergy then belonged. In several letters he advocated the

immediate formation of the two "Northern Missionary Bishoprics," one for the missions in the Far North on the east side of Rupert's Land, and the other for those in the Far North on the west side. Looking still farther into the future, he expressed his conviction that "Canada,"[1] Rupert's Land, and British Columbia would each before long have to be worked as separate ecclesiastical provinces. "Canada" was already an ecclesiastical province, but he meant that as a province it would retain the boundaries it possessed before the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion. He pointed out that the Roman Catholic Church, "seldom behind in organisation," had formed that part of Rupert's Land known as the Northern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company into an ecclesiastical province, with an archbishop and three suffragan bishops —Bishop Taché had now become Archbishop of St. Boniface. As Prebendary Venn, the Honorary Secretary of the C.M.S., replied in encouraging terms, Bishop Machray intimated his intention of paying a lengthy visit to England to press the matter on by every means in his power, and his hope to be in London by the middle of September to discuss details with the Society, and place his plans before the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund. Feeling some confidence in the early establishment of these two Bishoprics, he next turned his attention to the formation of a third.

The territory lying immediately west of the Province of Manitoba was known as Saskatchewan, from the name of the great river which flowed through it from west to east—an enormous area many times larger than England. Certain that Manitoba and the country on the east of it (now known as Keewatin, with a Bishop

[1] When the word Canada is placed within " " it refers to Eastern Canada.

of its own) would soon tax his energies and activities to the utmost, the Bishop said that Saskatchewan too must have its Bishop at the earliest possible moment, for if immigration first came into Manitoba it could not be long before it would overflow into Saskatchewan. The two former Bishoprics were purely missionary in their character, and could scarcely ever be anything else, at any rate not for a great number of years. The latter Bishopric, however, while in the beginning it would be almost wholly missionary, would take on a different aspect as time rolled on, and become to an ever-increasing extent a Colonial Diocese, with a settled resident population, largely agricultural and similar to that of Manitoba, displacing the Indians. These considerations put the proposed Diocese of Saskatchewan on a different footing from the others, and consequently any appeal for its formation had to take this into account. Therefore, while the appeal for the support of the purely missionary Bishoprics was made to the C.M.S., that for Saskatchewan could only be made partly to that Society. The Society whose field of action is the Colonies of the Empire is the S.P.G., and so the Bishop opened negotiations with that Society on behalf of the projected Diocese of Saskatchewan.

There was no difficulty, he thought, in finding the very men who were to be the first Bishops of these Sees, once they were established; they were on the spot, it might be said, ready to his hand. There was Horden at Moose Factory on Hudson's Bay; there was Bompas now at Fort Chipewyan in Athabasca; and for Saskatchewan where was there a better man than M'Lean, Archdeacon of Manitoba? (The Archdeaconry of Assiniboia had been changed into the Archdeaconry of Manitoba.) To part with his friend

M'Lean would be an act of self-sacrifice, but he never permitted such a consideration to stand in the way when duty, high aims, or good to others called. Moreover, it was a cardinal principle with him that, when there was a prospect of advancement in position or income, the man on the spot who deserved it most should not fail to get the benefit of it.

The second object of the Bishop's visit to England was to make an appeal for funds for St. John's College. Among the Acts passed at the first session of the Legislature of Manitoba was one incorporating the Bishop of Rupert's Land as a "corporation sole" (under the Letters Patent founding the See the Bishop of Rupert's Land was declared a corporation sole, but the Bishop thought it expedient to have the same declared by local law when there was a Legislature in the country), and another incorporating St. John's College, enabling it, as a corporation, to hold endowments in the shape of real property or otherwise. The latter Act, at the time when it was passed, looked to the future rather than the present, for in 1871 only a very small beginning had been made. Both the College and the College School were in a prosperous state, though their effective working was cramped by the want of suitable buildings, the erection of which had again had to be deferred owing to the Rebellion. But endowments and funds for buildings had to be raised if the College was to fulfil the Bishop's hopes that it was to become "a fountain of light, a school of the prophets in that great land," and the missionary centre of the life of the Church when the expected population was coming into the country.

Writing to the S.P.G., he drew the notice of that Society to the course of action taken by "the able and

loving Bishops who have accomplished such great things in the new western Dioceses of the American Church" by having such a missionary centre as he contemplated in St. John's College. He appealed to their members as Churchmen by stating: "It is the unanimous opinion of the American Bishops that the action of the first ten years, after immigration begins to flow into a new territory, determines, humanly speaking, the standing of a religious body, and the first thing to do is the laying hold of the higher education." In the spring of 1871 he sent Archdeacon M'Lean, his able lieutenant, to "Canada" on behalf of the College, where, as the result of a three months' campaign, he succeeded in obtaining over $8000 (£1600). Upon the Archdeacon's return to Winnipeg the Bishop left for England.

He arrived at Cambridge on September 16, 1871, and spent a fortnight very agreeably in the society of Mr. Williams-Ellis and other old friends in the University and county; he preached at Newton and Madingley, and renewed his acquaintance with his former parishioners. All were deeply interested in hearing of the progress of his work in Rupert's Land — a part of the Empire that was now somewhat better known in England because of the attention which the Red River Rebellion had attracted to it, though some of the notions that were afloat regarding it were hardly accurate. During the course of his visit the Bishop frequently delivered addresses in various English cities and towns, and though these utterances were chiefly concerned with what was being done and to be attempted in his Diocese, he usually took advantage of these occasions to present a faithful description of the North-West. For instance, speaking at Gloucester,

he said that he found the common view held in England of Rupert's Land was that it was a vast region where the year was made up of "nine months' snow and three months' mosquitoes." To such a ludicrously incorrect statement it was enough, he thought, to reply that it contained an enormous area of the most fertile land in the world, only waiting for the husbandman and the plough to go in and possess it, and then no long time would elapse before its genuine character would be demonstrated and realised; in time it would become the granary of England, in spite of its long cold winter, which, though rigorous, was quite endurable.

At the beginning of October he went to London, where he became the guest of the Rev. C. A. Jones, who had been one of his great friends during his Cambridge days (see p. 87), and of Mrs. Jones. Mr. Jones had left Cambridge in 1863 to take the Mathematical Mastership in Westminster School, of which he was also a House Master, with his residence at 2 Little Dean's Yard. Mr. Jones contributes some impressions and reminiscences of this visit:

Bishop Machray arrived at my house, 2 Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, from Cambridge on the evening of Monday, October 2. I doubt if I had seen him more than once or twice since I left Cambridge in January 1863, but he struck me as very little, if at all, changed, except that he had grown a venerable long beard, which he seemed very fond of stroking. Though my wife was the sister of his old friend, Thomas Hewitt (known to his friends as Theta), for many years Fellow and Bursar of Emmanuel College, I do not think she had met him before. He saluted me in his old familiar style, with a hearty laugh and "Well, how are you?" That he at once adapted himself to the life of a busy Westminster Boarding-House Master may be gathered from the fact that what was intended to be a short, few days' visit developed into one that

lasted on and off for ten months. He took his breakfast, and when he was in, which was not often, his lunch in hall like ourselves, and chatted pleasantly with the senior boys among whom he sat, many of whom often spoke of him afterwards to me. He was always ready to assist me in every way, presiding at luncheon if, what sometimes happened, especially on a Tuesday, I was kept at the Board of the Westminster Hospital, and ready in the evening to take prayers for me and chat over the events of the day with my head boy, if we were out to dinner.

He took a great interest in the many old customs of Westminster School, especially in the play which he attended the following Christmas—that year the *Andria*. He told me he got many a hint for the rising school of St. John's College, Winnipeg, during his visit. We were a singularly happy and united party at Westminster in those far-off days. We naturally introduced him to my colleagues. Our head master, Dr. Scott (Senior Classic, etc.), and the second master, Henry Manning Ingram, still happily among the living, a godson of Cardinal Manning, took a special interest in him and his work, and Dr. Scott assigned to St. John's College the school offertory on All Saints' Day, amounting to over £20. Both, I have reason to believe, liberally helped his funds on more than one occasion.

Many were the pleasant little dinners, with the Bishop as chief guest, in these dear old days. The Bishop and I had many mutual friends in London, particularly Titcomb, afterwards Bishop of Rangoon, then at St. Stephen's, South Lambeth, and Robert Long of St. Simon's, Upper Chelsea, one of his commissaries, afterwards Archdeacon of Auckland, in both of whose churches the Bishop preached. Among others whom he several times met at my house was my very old friend of the same year, Gorst, afterwards Sir John. They had had very similar experiences, Gorst being in New Zealand during the Maori troubles of 1861, of which he has recently written a graphic account, and the Bishop in connection with the Red River Rebellion. The Bishop was particularly considerate in his manner with the servants, and ever afterwards, till just before his death, he always inquired after them and sent kindly

messages to them. Two of them, who are still with me, remember him with affectionate regard.

He was a very busy man, spending the day in writing careful letters, not always easy to read, on behalf of his Diocese, making calls, and dining out at official and private dinners, always with his Diocese in view. Though he collected a considerable sum, I think some £5000, he was, I fear, on the whole disappointed.

Though a man of decided views, both in Church matters and in politics, he was not narrow, and was equally welcome at the S.P.G. and the C.M.S., at the S.P.C.K. and the C.C.C.S. The S.P.G., as Prebendary Tucker often told me, had the highest opinion of his work and judgment, and it was, I know, to S.P.G. influences that he owed the distinction, which he so much prized, of being made, on Bishop Austin's death, Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. The C.M.S. equally valued him, and the only little differences he had with that Society were due to the fact that he thought they were in too great a hurry to reduce their grants to the great North-West, though he held firmly to the opinion that the Church there should, as soon as possible, be self-supporting. He and the Society, as the result of long negotiations, eventually came to an amicable arrangement.

The Bishop's chief subject of conversation was the great future of his adopted land, and the result has shown how true a prophet he was. He also talked much about Cambridge and Sidney, and everything that occurred in connection with them interested him deeply. I have reason to know that some twenty-five years later, when he began to think he was too old for Rupert's Land, he would have accepted the Mastership of Sidney had it been offered to him, as it probably would have been had it been vacant a few years earlier. *Dis aliter visum est.* When it fell vacant a new generation had arisen that knew not Joseph—and I think it was wisely ordered, and that it is more fitting that the great statesman Archbishop will sleep "till the day dawn" in the country of his adoption.

Soon after his arrival in London the Bishop called on the Secretaries of the C.M.S. and the S.P.G., and

had an informal and very friendly conversation with each of them about his plans for Rupert's Land. A meeting with the Correspondence Committee of the C.M.S. was arranged for October 24, to enable him to make a categorical statement, which was to be the beginning of the negotiations for the division of the See, and, at the same time, permit him to tell the Society of the position of St. John's College. At the S.P.G. he was received with great cordiality by Prebendary Bulloch, who promised to assist him by every means in his power. Having thus got matters well in train, the Bishop, on October 9, went to Nottingham to attend a Church Congress. Thereafter he was the guest, at Lambeth Palace, of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait), whom he found appreciative and sympathetic. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait was his Metropolitan, and he was anxious to have the Archbishop's approbation of his plans and hearty co-operation in carrying them out ; but, naturally, Dr. Tait wanted some time to consider them. In the end the Archbishop not only gave them his entire approval, but was at some pains to expedite them.

There was a full meeting of the C.M.S. Committee on the day appointed, and the Bishop put before them the necessity there existed for the formation of the two Northern Missionary Bishoprics. He also gave them a review of all their missions in his Diocese, and pointed out that, as the part of it known as Manitoba would become within a comparatively short period a settled country, most of their missions there would before long cease to be missions, properly speaking, and be transformed into regular parochial charges, whose incumbents would be supported by their congregations. There would be new missions, however,

opened up in Rupert's Land, and to supply clergy for them he suggested the desirability of the Society looking to St. John's College in Winnipeg to furnish them instead of sending men out from England, who could not possibly be so well acquainted with the conditions obtaining in the North-West as were those who were educated and brought up in the midst of them. He then spoke of his great wish to raise funds for the College, so as to equip it thoroughly for the work of the Church. The Committee listened attentively, and promised to give his scheme for the Bishoprics their earnest consideration; in the meantime they voted a subscription of a hundred guineas to the College.

It was not till the summer of 1872 that the question of the two Northern Bishoprics was settled in accordance with the Bishop's plans; and before that took place he had many interviews with Bishop Anderson and Archdeacon Hunter, both of whom were of material assistance, and with the Secretaries of the Church Societies and others interested, all of whom "turned over and weighed," as he afterwards told his Synod, his propositions with the utmost care. Archdeacon Hunter was particularly helpful, taking an active part in the deliberations of the C.M.S., who also were greatly influenced by the strongly expressed views of the Bishop's two Archdeacons, M'Lean and Cowley, in support of the division of the See, and by the known opinions of their missionaries, Horden and Bompas. Archdeacon Cowley had, without the Bishop's knowledge, written to the C.M.S., begging the Society to take advantage of the Bishop's presence in England to see about dividing his "unmanageably huge Diocese," as the Archdeacon characterised it, and the

divisions he suggested were precisely those that the Bishop himself desired.

An important meeting of the General Committee of the C.M.S. was held on June 10, when the Bishop presented a Memorandum dealing exhaustively with the subject, printed copies of which had previously been circulated among the members of the Society who usually were present at such meetings. The attendance was very large, and the President of the Society, Henry, third Earl of Chichester, was in the Chair. As much that appeared in this Memorandum has been given already in this book, it is unnecessary to repeat the statements which it contained. The response of the Society was generous and complete; the stipends for the new Bishoprics were to be provided by the Society, and a sub-committee was appointed to settle all details with the Bishop. This sub-committee presented a report on July 8, which was adopted by the Society. Provision was made for the support of the two senior missionaries, Bompas in the Athabasca-Mackenzie district, and Horden in the Hudson's Bay district, if they should be consecrated Bishops. Horden had already been communicated with, and had agreed to become Bishop of the latter; but, owing to the great distance of Fort Chipewyan from London, and the difficulty of getting in touch with it, it was not known for some time whether Bompas would give his consent to be nominated as Bishop of the former. Before Bishop Machray left for Canada, the Archbishop of Canterbury had applied for the Royal Licence for the Consecration in England of Horden.

After the arrangements with the C.M.S. were completed, the Bishop appeared by invitation before a meeting of the Council of the Colonial Bishoprics'

Fund, over which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided, and he presented a full statement regarding the two Bishoprics to be maintained by the C.M.S., and a third Bishopric—that proposed for the district of Saskatchewan. The Council approved of the formation of the three new Sees, and decided that in an appeal shortly to be issued, asking for funds for an increase in the Colonial Episcopate, these three should occupy the first place. Thirty-two years before the Council had made a similar appeal, with the result that they received and administered a capital sum of nearly a quarter of a million sterling ($1,250,000), and had materially assisted in establishing thirty new Sees. On this occasion the Council named twenty-seven new Bishoprics, the formation of which was considered to be necessary and pressing. The manner in which the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund aids the establishment of a new See is by a vote, usually of £1000 ($5000), towards its endowment, and, incidentally, it may be mentioned that the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. help in the same way and to much the same extent. The vote is given either outright in a lump sum, or proportionately to some amount to be raised for the same object from other sources—as, for example, £500 to meet £4500, or £1000 to meet £9000—thus furnishing a strong incentive to the friends of any given See to work hard, so as to be able to obtain these considerable sums of money. As the C.M.S. had agreed to furnish the incomes for the Bishops of the two Northern Missionary Dioceses, the next endeavour of Bishop Machray was to start an endowment for the Bishopric of Saskatchewan, which he did by getting together a committee before he left England, who heartily undertook this effort.

While these important negotiations were being carried on with vigour and success, the Bishop devoted the rest of his time to the advocacy of his appeal for the College. His great argument was that the College, if adequately equipped, could, by supplying a ministry who knew local requirements as no outsider could hope to know them, be able to meet the inrush of settlers and the consequent growth of the country better than any other agency or means. The influx was already beginning into Manitoba, the southern frontier of which was now only 160 miles from the railway, whereas when he had gone out as Bishop of Rupert's Land just six years before it was 700 miles from the nearest continuous line of railroad from the Atlantic to the Middle West. Winnipeg, which was changing from a hamlet into a town, was now connected with the world by telegraph. There was the prospect of the early construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was destined to link Old Canada with the New and with the Pacific; Manitoba and the North-West would be thrown wide open to settlement. As it was, fresh settlements were being formed behind the old which lay along the banks of the rivers, and ever fresh settlements would be forming behind these again.

Every one, the Bishop said, could see how this process had gone on, and was still going on, in the American States immediately adjoining Manitoba. Minnesota was fast filling up, and it would be the same in Manitoba. Minnesota, under its devoted Bishop, Dr. Whipple, had splendid Church institutions at Faribault—a Cathedral, a College, and schools; but splendid as they were, they had come twenty-five years too late to enable the Church to hold its

ground in Minnesota. Was it to be the same in Manitoba? It would be, the Bishop asserted, if the Church in England did not understand the situation and help St. John's College at once, when there still was time to prepare. "The thought of this coming multitude, this new nation of white men, mainly, doubtless, of Anglo-Saxon blood—with all their struggles for this world, carrying with them the common human burden of sin with all its sorrows—may well fill the mind with anxiety, and bid it be alive and active in preparing." St. John's College, if sufficiently assisted now, would be, as he intended, the great missionary centre of all Diocesan effort and work. A little assistance now would count for much more than any larger help in the future.

Such were the pleas the Bishop put before the English Church people for the College; the response was considerable, but not so great as he had hoped for. During his visit he received in all £5270 ($26,000) in donations, including £300 ($1500) previously granted by the S.P.C.K., besides the promise of subscriptions and collections of the value of £130 ($650) a year; the larger part was for the College. He also was given a great number of books for the College library. The Queen, through Sir Theodore Martin, presented a signed copy of her *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*; the University of Oxford voted publications from the University Press to the value of £150; while the University of Cambridge gave him a copy of all its publications. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. A. Macmillan, of Messrs. Macmillan and Co., the well-known London publishers, and many others, made gifts of valuable books. Mrs. Macallum presented a library of 400 volumes in

memory of her husband, the Rev. John Macallum, whose Red River Academy had been a forerunner of St. John's College. So many books, indeed, did the Bishop receive for the College that its library was nearly doubled. Amongst those who were of special assistance to the Bishop during this visit to England, in addition to those previously mentioned, were the Rev. T. T. Smith, Rector of Truxford, near Hereford, and Mr. Isbister, Head Master of the Stationers' School, London, whose name will appear later in these pages in connection with a munificent bequest to the University of Manitoba.

After paying some visits to relatives and friends, the Bishop sailed for Canada on August 29, 1872. Immediately on his arrival at St. John's, Winnipeg, building operations were begun, and a considerable addition was made to the College, while a new wing which was contemplated was deferred till the following summer. These much-needed extensions when completed would provide, the Bishop thought, sufficient accommodation for some years. He called a meeting of the Diocesan Synod, to be held in the second week of the ensuing January, to tell his people how he had prospered during his visit to England, and to get their assent to the changes he had made as regarded the Diocese as a whole. While absent from Winnipeg he had been in frequent correspondence with Archdeacon M'Lean, who acted as his Commissary; and it was arranged that the Archdeacon was to be formally nominated to the new Bishopric of Saskatchewan, and in the following summer proceed to England for the purpose of raising an endowment for that See. Meanwhile Dr. Horden was consecrated Bishop of Moosonee, the ceremony taking place on December 15 in London,

with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait), the Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson), the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Claughton), and other Bishops, including Bishop Anderson, officiating.

The Diocesan Synod met on January 8, 1873, in the midst of a great snowstorm which lasted for some days. The storm was general over a vast extent of territory, reaching far to the south, and caused much loss of life among the settlers in Minnesota. The Synod was opened with Divine Service in the Cathedral, the sermon being preached by Archdeacon M'Lean, from Acts xv. 22 : "Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas." A celebration of the Holy Communion followed. After luncheon at Bishop's Court, the Synod assembled in St. John's College, there being present the Bishop, ten clergy, and twenty-one lay delegates.

The Bishop delivered an Address, which began by enumerating the reasons why the Synod had not been summoned earlier. Four years had passed since the last meeting, and in the interval there had occurred the plague of grasshoppers in 1868, the Rebellion of 1869-70, and then the negotiations for the division of the See in 1871-72, which, taken together, accounted for the delay in holding a Synod. After thanking Archdeacon M'Lean for acting as his Commissary, and referring to losses the Diocese had sustained by the death of one missionary—the Rev. David Hale, the representative of the C.M.S. at Fairford—and the retirement of another, the Rev. W. Mason, C.M.S. missionary at York Factory, after labours extending over thirty years—he proceeded to give an account of the steps which he had taken for the division of the

See, and of the success which had attended his efforts. The division of the See entailed a further step. "The formation of these Bishoprics," he said, "will enable us, by means of the Bishops and Clerical and Lay Delegates from each Diocese, to obtain a thorough and effective representation of the whole Church in Rupert's Land, and thus put us in a position to proceed practically to self-government."

He stated that temporary boundaries for the four Dioceses must meanwhile be marked out, and then a Convention or Provincial Synod was to be assembled as soon as possible, with two Houses, one of the Bishops and the other of representatives of the clergy and laity, to determine the organisation of the Church. Until that was done the new Bishops were to hold the same position to himself as Suffragan Bishops did to the Bishops in England. In the Letters Patent founding the See of Rupert's Land the Crown had reserved power to divide the Diocese with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rupert's Land for the time being. But that referred to a time when there was no Legislature in the country. The position was now changed, and the Crown would not issue new Letters Patent. The new Bishops, therefore, would have their authority from the Church alone. The Bishop stated that he had been advised by two eminent counsel in England that at present it was not desirable for him to resign by deed his rights, as Bishop of Rupert's Land, over the new Sees. These rights, however, would lie dormant, and the Church in Rupert's Land, with the concurrence of the necessary parties, would provide an organisation for the new Dioceses, and a Constitution under which their Bishops would have due authority. While congratulating the

Synod on the formation of these Dioceses, he said, "It is a joy to my heart more than I can express that I am to be no longer nominally the Bishop of an impossible jurisdiction."

The Bishop spoke next of the duties of the clergy and of the means of supporting them. The former were likely to be more onerous in the new state of things that was coming fast upon them, owing to the growth of settlement in the country; and the latter more precarious, because in the future the English Societies would not give such large individual grants as in the past. In these circumstances each clergyman must expect to be called on to go outside his parish or mission to minister to the adjacent districts, and, at the same time, each must inculcate ever more forcibly upon his people the duty of providing his stipend so far as they could. The deficiency, where it existed, would be met by a grant from a Home Mission Fund, which would start with the interest from the Clergy Endowment Fund, now £80 ($400) a year, and be increased by collections, offertories, and subscriptions. He thought that much might be done by the gathering of small weekly or monthly contributions.

Turning to the subject of St. John's College, he mentioned the amount he had raised in England, and stated that there was now an endowment for the Professorship of Systematic Divinity yielding £200 ($1000) a year, and a general endowment for the College bringing in about £80 annually. Since the last meeting of Synod the total funds of the Church had increased from nine to forty thousand dollars (from £1800 to £8000). The charge of such a sum was a responsibility, the Bishop said. While he was willing to act as Treasurer for the present, he desired

all possible protection against casualties beyond his control, and suggested the passing of a resolution appointing Mr. Donald Smith (the same gentleman who had acted as Special Commissioner for Canada during the Rebellion) agent for the Treasurer, with power to invest, sell investments, make and receive payments, and the like, in Montreal, where Mr. Smith carried on business as a financial agent. Auditors must also be appointed to check the accounts and securities.

Having thanked the Bishop for his Address, the Synod discussed a Canon for the organisation of the Church in Rupert's Land, drawn up in accordance with the Bishop's suggestions and approved by the Executive Committee of the Diocese, and on the motion of Archdeacon M'Lean, seconded by Archdeacon Cowley, the Canon was passed. After a preamble setting forth the consent of the Bishop to the division of the See, and that it was necessary for the well-being of the Church in Rupert's Land that the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity should be able to provide for the government and administration of the Church in the same, the Canon assigned boundaries to the four Bishoprics,—Rupert's Land, Saskatchewan, Hudson's Bay (Moosonee), and Athabasca,—formed these Bishoprics into an Ecclesiastical Province called Rupert's Land, and stated that as soon as two of the new Dioceses were organised a Provincial Synod was to be summoned by the Bishop of Rupert's Land to represent the whole Church in Rupert's Land, the business of the first meeting of this Synod being the framing of a Constitution to provide, among other things, for the representation of the different Dioceses and for the general government of the Church in Rupert's Land. A resolution conveying the best

thanks of the Diocese to the C.M.S. for making provisions for two of the Bishoprics was carried unanimously. Motions were passed respecting the Mission Board and other subjects which the Bishop had brought up in his Address, and in accordance with it. Having taken the necessary steps which remained for the division of the See, and having provided for the calling of a Provincial Synod—proceedings which constituted a great landmark in the history of the Church in Rupert's Land—the Synod was adjourned by the Bishop.

At the end of the published Report of this Synod there is a short but extremely interesting prospectus of St. John's College. In this document the Bishop appears as Chancellor, and Archdeacon M'Lean as Warden of the College; the Theological Faculty consists of the Warden as Professor of Systematic Theology, the Bishop as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and the Rev. Dr. de Lew as Lecturer in Hebrew. In the College School Latin and Greek are taught by the Warden, Dr. de Lew, and Mr. Matheson (now Archbishop of Rupert's Land); English by the Warden, the Rev. J. D. O'Meara (afterwards Dean of Rupert's Land), and Mr. Matheson; Mathematics and Arithmetic by the Bishop and Mr. W. Flett; German by Dr. de Lew; French by Dr. de Lew and Mr. O'Meara; and Music by the Rev. W. Beck (afterwards Precentor of St. John's Cathedral). There are two resident tutors, Mr. Flett and Mr. Matheson, and a matron, Mrs. Leslie. The academic year is divided into two terms each of twenty weeks —a Midsummer Term beginning January 29, and a Christmas Term beginning August 1; the boarding charges for students are $70 (£14), and for boys $60

(£12) per term, while the charges for tuition are on the same low scale. The prospectus states that while the Warden is absent in England the Bishop will occupy his place. Archdeacon M'Lean left Winnipeg for London in June to raise an endowment for Saskatchewan, and from that time, for many a long year afterwards, the Bishop was Warden of the College and Head Master of the College School.

CHAPTER XII

COLLEGE, CATHEDRAL, PROVINCIAL SYNOD

1874–1875

By the beginning of 1874 encouraging signs of the growth of Manitoba—an earnest of what was to come—were manifest in several directions, in spite of the fact that, though the means of communication had greatly improved, a tedious and expensive journey was still involved in reaching the country. For a year or two there was a tri-weekly stage between Winnipeg and Fort Abercrombie in Minnesota. Steamers, of the shallow-draught, stern-wheel type, on the Red River, and a tributary, the Red Lake River, ran from Fort Garry to Glyndon in the same State, where connections were made with the railway for St. Paul, Duluth, or Chicago, but as the season advanced the water frequently was too low to permit the vessels to proceed quickly to their destination. Just before the close of navigation (consequent on the setting-in of winter) in 1874, the writer took a week to get from Glyndon, then the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, to Winnipeg—a trip now made easily in a few hours by rail.

Yet, notwithstanding the slowness and costliness of travel, Winnipeg, which in 1870 was a small collection

of houses, "stores," and "saloons" about Fort Garry, with one church, Holy Trinity, in it, had in 1874 a population of 3000, and was commencing to consider itself a city with infinite possibilities before it, while numerous little settlements were springing up on the prairies in the rear of the old parishes on the banks of the Red River and the Assiniboine. Besides Holy Trinity, which had been considerably enlarged by Archdeacon M'Lean, Winnipeg now had a Presbyterian and a Wesleyan Church. In Kildonan, four miles away, the Presbyterians had started a College, which they afterwards transferred to Winnipeg and developed into the flourishing institution known as Manitoba College. Just across the Red River from Winnipeg the Roman Catholics had had for several years a College and College School at St. Boniface.

While there was thus fairly adequate provision for higher education, ordinary schools had been built or were being built in Winnipeg and elsewhere in the Province, under an Act passed by the local Legislature in 1871. Before that time nearly all the English schools had been conducted by clergymen or teachers belonging to the Church of England. The Act of 1871 put all the common schools under the State, which created two Boards of Education—a Protestant, of which the Bishop was Chairman (not *ex officio*, but by nomination of the Government), and a Roman Catholic ; in the same way, there were two sets of schools, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, the former for the English-speaking children, the latter for the French. Though no other arrangement was possible in the circumstances of the country at the time, it later led to a great deal of trouble which came to a head in the "Manitoba Schools Question,"

Old St. John's College, Winnipeg.

Red River Academy, in Ruins.

that for a long period was an agitating factor in Dominion as well as Provincial politics. In this connection it should be noted that the majority of the settlers coming into the country were English-Canadian or English; so that while in 1871 the population was pretty equally divided between English and French, afterwards the proportion of English to French steadily increased—a process that has continued until at present the French element is comparatively inconsiderable.

The Church was growing with the growth of the country, though many of the new-comers were Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Baptists. Holy Trinity, even after its enlargement, was soon too small for the requirements of Winnipeg; in 1874 a much larger building was needed, and an effort was made for a new church by Canon Grisdale (now Bishop of Qu'Appelle), which was successful; in 1875 the Rev. Octave Fortin (now Archdeacon) was appointed Rector of Holy Trinity—up to that time all its Services had been supplied from the College-Cathedral centre of St. John's. Settlements had been formed in twenty townships dotted over the prairies, and missions were established in most of them, their Services, as a rule, also being supplied from St. John's.

The additions to the College were completed in the summer of 1874, the whole fabric presenting an attractive appearance. The edifice, which was of wood with the weather-boards painted white, was two storeys in height with a continuous verandah, and formed three sides of a quadrangle; the side facing the river had a low tower in the middle whereon were placed an anemograph and other instruments for registering the vagaries of the prairie winds. The College was one of the meteorological stations subsidised by the Canadian

Government; it possessed a fully equipped observatory, and sent daily telegraphic reports of the state of the weather to the Dominion observatory at Kingston and to the Smithsonian at Washington. The building contained class-rooms, library, dining-hall, rooms for lecturers and masters, dormitories for the students and boys, kitchen and servants' accommodation. In 1874 the Bishop, who had removed from Bishop's Court, occupied a set of rooms in the College, consisting of a small bedroom, a somewhat larger sitting-room, and a class-room, all plainly furnished; most of his furniture was left in Bishop's Court, which he handed over temporarily to one of his married clergy.

Here, in these three small rooms, or rather in two of them, for the class-room was in general use, the Bishop lived for several years, taking his meals in the College dining-room with the masters, students, and pupils, except supper at nine with the masters only. The ordinary fare was always of the simplest; the supper consisted of cold meat with a glass of beer. Though not a total abstainer, the Bishop was an abstemious man. He was not in favour of "Prohibition" by the State, as he deemed self-restraint on the part of the individual a higher and better thing. Once when a "Prohibition wave" swept over the country, a resolution was brought forward in the Synod of the time in strong support of the movement; as no one seemed to have the courage to offer opposition, and the motion was on the point of being passed, the Bishop intervened and said that if the Synod carried it he would feel compelled to exercise his episcopal veto, though reluctantly, and he gave as the ground for this action the reason mentioned above. No more was heard of the resolution. Probably this was the only instance during an

episcopate of nearly forty years of the Bishop's stating that he would have to resort to the veto.

The resident staff of the College in 1874 consisted of the Rev. J. D. O'Meara, who prior to the appointment of Mr. Fortin to Holy Trinity was also Assistant Minister of that church, Mr. W. Flett, and Mr. S. P. Matheson, and there were about sixty students and boys in residence and a few day scholars. Nearly all the boarders were natives of the country, a large proportion of them being sons of officers of the Hudson's Bay Company from the interior ; once these boys entered St. John's they saw very little of their parents for years, as the distance between them and the difficulty of overcoming it in the holidays were practically prohibitive. After Archdeacon M'Lean left for England in 1873, the Bishop took entire command of the College and College School, and acted in every respect, including the infliction of corporal or other punishment on the idle and refractory, as Warden and Head Master. Archdeacon M'Lean's stipend as Warden of the College and Professor of Systematic Theology was continued to him until, as Bishop of Saskatchewan, he received an income from his See, the Bishop meanwhile doing his work as well as his own. For many years the Bishop gave lectures to the students in Theology, Arts, and Mathematics, and taught in the College School, going through the necessary drudgery—though it never seemed to be drudgery to him—of correcting the innumerable exercises of the boys, and always with the greatest care.

Before passing on to narrate in some detail the chief events of the period included in this chapter, it may be well at this point to notice a side of the Bishop's nature which was little known to the general public,

but which greatly endeared him to all who came under its influence—in the course of the years they happily were many. It was displayed, but in the most simple and unaffected manner, in the extraordinary tenderness with which he took care of the students, and especially the boys at St. John's—a tenderness even more maternal than paternal, though, at the same time, he preserved order and discipline, and was the last person in the world with whom any one would ever have thought of taking a liberty. Treating of this, Archbishop Matheson, his successor, sends the following :

I often think that one saw the late Archbishop at his best as Head Master of St. John's College School. Though he was a strict disciplinarian, a believer in the judicious application of the taws, and one who applied it with his episcopal hand where he thought it was needed, yet he was as tender and kind as a mother to the boys under his care.

I can see him yet going through the dormitories in noiseless woollen slippers at twelve o'clock at night, and sometimes later, to see that the boys were all comfortable in their beds, and if the room were chilly and a boy partially uncovered, I have seen him carefully tuck in the bedcover with his own hands. If a boy were suffering from a cold and had any elevation of temperature, his specific was a hot bath, followed by a dose of Dover's Powder. He insisted on preparing the bath water himself, testing it with his hand. If he was doubtful of the accuracy of the hand test he would thrust his forearm into the water. He administered the bath himself and "dried" (he always used that word) the patient with his own hands. I remember how proud I was when, as a Junior Master in the School, I was raised to the dignity of being allowed to take the Bishop's place and bathe a sick boy. When leaving the dormitory and the boys said, "Good-night, sir," I felt that there was a tone of homage and loyalty in their voices that I had never realised before. Up to that time the most I was permitted to do was to hold the candle in one hand and

the Bishop's episcopal ring in the other, and, as I saw him, I thought of a Great Person Who came to minister and not be ministered unto, Who girded Himself with a towel and washed His disciples' feet.

What perhaps impressed me most when I was a pupil in his School, a student in his College, or in after-life as a co-worker with him, was his intense devotion to duty and the painstaking care he bestowed on everything he did. A small duty was performed with the same care as a great one. He corrected the Latin exercise of a boy in the First Form with as much care as he did a document in statecraft. What an example he was to all! "What is worth doing at all, is worth doing well." How often he repeated this to us!

In further illustration of this aspect of the Bishop's life at this time, the subjoined extract is taken from a letter written shortly after the death of the Archbishop in 1904 by Mr. Laurence J. Clarke, a pupil in the School in 1874, afterwards a student of the College, and one of the first graduates of the University of Manitoba, which was established, as will be narrated, in 1877:

The Archbishop was more to any of the old boys of St. John's than any one could imagine who was not familiar with the old life in the early days of our experience in the White School on the banks of the Red River. I do not suppose there has ever been between the guiding spirit and head of any institution and those in his charge such an intimacy, warm and unbroken, as there was between his Grace and that small body of boys, first of the Upper School and later of the College and University, in those good old days that none of us will ever forget. I knew him before 1874, and at ten years of age I often sat on his knee after a successful piece of elementary Latin prose—for we were at it even at that age. I knew him much more intimately than I did my father (Mr. Clarke's father, a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, resided at Fort Carlton in the Saskatchewan country, hundreds of miles

from Winnipeg), and I lived with him much longer than I lived at home. In common with the other old boys of that period which I mention, I can say that for anything we acquired of good we have to thank "The Bishop"—for he was always and ever "The Bishop" to us then.

While thus taking the most active share and the deepest personal interest in the life and work of the College and College School, the Bishop continued to superintend the affairs of his Diocese with the same unremitting care as before, and plan for it and the new Ecclesiastical Province he was creating with the same foresight; he was the kind of man whose capacity seemed to grow with the demands made upon it; like most very busy men, he was never too busy to find time for anything that had to be done, or usually that he wished to do, but in those days the pressure upon him was not so heavy as it afterwards became. Early in the year Mr. Bompas came in from the North, on his way to England, to be consecrated Bishop of Athabasca. Writing to the S.P.G. on January 25, 1874, the Bishop said: "Bompas, a noble fellow, every inch of him a man, has just come from the Arctic Circle, travelling 4000 miles in the last six months, and has gone on to England, where, I hope, he will be consecrated." The biographer of Bishop Bompas (see p. 100) tells a story of this visit to Bishop Machray which certainly bears repetition:

It is said that when Mr. Bompas reached the episcopal residence (Bishop's Court, St. John's) the servant mistook him for a tramp (in his travel-worn clothes), and told him that his master was very busy and could not be disturbed. So insistent was the stranger that the servant went to the Bishop's study and told him that a tramp was at the door determined to see him.

"He is hungry, no doubt," said the Bishop; "take him into the kitchen and give him something to eat."

Accordingly, Mr. Bompas was ushered in, and was soon calmly enjoying a plateful of soup, at the same time urging that he might see the master of the house. Hearing the talking, and wondering who the insistent stranger was, the Bishop appeared in the doorway, and great was his astonishment to see before him the travel-stained missionary.

"Bompas!" he cried, as he rushed forward, "is it you?"

Mr. Bompas reached England in due course, and though he begged the C.M.S. to find another of their missionaries to be Bishop of the See, was consecrated on May 3 Bishop of Athabasca, while at the same time Archdeacon M'Lean was consecrated Bishop of Saskatchewan, the latter having succeeded in raising a sufficient endowment for his Bishopric. Their Consecration took place in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait), the Bishops of London (Dr. Jackson), Winchester (Dr. Browne), St. Asaph (Dr. Hughes), and other Bishops, with Bishop Anderson, officiating. As Dr. Horden had been consecrated Bishop of Moosonee in 1872, the three new Sees that had been taken from Rupert's Land were now filled—to the heartfelt rejoicing of Bishop Machray, who had thus the deep satisfaction of seeing his work prospering in his hands. But though his main efforts henceforth were devoted to the reduced Diocese of Rupert's Land, he never forgot—and sometimes on occasion bade others remember—that he was still Bishop of Rupert's Land in the full sense of the old term, and he always followed with the liveliest interest all that was done in every part of the Sees then or afterwards formed out of Rupert's Land.

The year 1874 was further signalised by the estab-

lishment of a "real Cathedral," as he termed it when writing of this new departure to one of the English Societies. St. John's Cathedral, as the church where the Bishop of the Diocese had his *cathedra* or seat, had been founded by Bishop Anderson ; in that sense it was always as real a Cathedral, plain, insignificant little building as it was, as St. Paul's, or York Minster, or Canterbury, or any other of the great and stately Cathedral fanes of England, but a "real Cathedral" meant much more than that in the view of Bishop Machray. Up till 1874 St. John's was practically a parish church—the church for the parish of St. John's, with an Incumbent, who was the Bishop or his nominee ; thus, in 1866, he had given it to Archdeacon M'Lean, with the title of Rector, who resigned it on becoming Bishop of Saskatchewan. It had no endowments bringing in a revenue, but it possessed a glebe of several hundred acres, the gift in the old days of the Hudson's Bay Company to their Chaplain (see p. 114) ; in 1874 this land, no doubt, had a value, but that value was almost entirely prospective and dependent on the growth of Winnipeg, which itself was in the parish. (The "City of Winnipeg" did not at first include the Cathedral lands, but later it did.) There was no provision by the parish for the maintenance of the Incumbent, to say nothing of a Dean and Chapter ; yet in 1874 the Bishop gave it a Dean and Chapter—a provisional Dean and Chapter, it might be said, yet containing the substance of the completed system. At the Bishop's instance the local Legislature of that year passed an Act incorporating the Dean and Chapter of St. John's Cathedral, enabling them to hold lands or other endowments, and deal with financial matters like any other corporation. To the Dean and

Chapter the Bishop transferred the Cathedral glebe, thus placing the capitular body in the same position as that occupied by the Incumbent of St. John's; in other words, the Dean and Chapter became Incumbents of the parish.

As the Cathedral glebe produced no revenue in 1874 (nor for some years afterwards), there was no income for the support of the Dean and Chapter, and it might almost have appeared that the Cathedral was less of a "real Cathedral" even than before. But had there been a sufficient income for the maintenance of the Dean and Chapter, the Bishop still would have thought the Cathedral was not a "real Cathedral" in the best and fullest sense of the term, even if every stall had been filled. He asked himself, What was a Cathedral? What were its functions? What was it to be to the Diocese—especially to his own Diocese, in its special circumstances? With a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical history, combined with a great reverence for things ancient of good report, he was well acquainted with the story of the old Cathedrals. The Cathedral was the Mother Church of the Diocese; it did not come after the parish churches; it not only existed before them, but brought them into being.

"The Cathedral Church of early times," he said, when preaching the sermon on the installation of Canon Grisdale at St. John's Cathedral in 1874, "was the Mission Church of the little band of missionaries that round their Bishop struggled to uplift the Cross and carry the tidings of a Saviour into surrounding heathenism. . . . Afterwards the Cathedral remained the common centre. The Christian world owes almost everything to Cathedrals and like institutions. Amid the dense darkness and untutored roughness of

medieval times whatever was elevating and humanising found a refuge there." And the Cathedral was not only the missionary centre, but was also the educational centre, of the Diocese in those times ; with the Cathedral were combined the College and the School. The latter aspect of Cathedral life had sometimes not survived to these modern days, but was still to be seen, as, for instance, at Ely, where Canonries were joined with Professorships at Cambridge.

"The great uses of the Cathedral remain," said the Bishop :

First, the Cathedral as the missionary centre of the Diocese ; St. John's was, and was to continue to be, the missionary centre of Rupert's Land. In the Western Dioceses of the American Church the Bishops had established Collegiate or Associate Missions around themselves as centres of work — these, the Bishop pointed out, were nothing but a modern form of the old Cathedral ; the name might be wanting, but the essential thing was there.

Second, the Cathedral as the home centre of the Diocese, where reunions of the clergy and all Diocesan workers took place around their Bishop, where special courses of sermons were delivered, where Church music was cultivated, and where the Services were performed so as to bring out most fully their spirit and their beauty. St. John's was in time to be and to do all this.

Third, the Cathedral as the educational centre of the Diocese. "The importance of education for our Church," the Bishop said, "cannot be over-estimated. Bishop Jewell at the time of the Reformation well expressed the feelings of the leading Reformers when he said, 'Learning is the life and soul of the Church

and of the Christian religion.'" The Cathedral must take the lead in this as in other Church matters, and hence its fit union with Colleges and Schools; thus with St. John's Cathedral were joined St. John's College and the College School.

In this manner, and on more than one occasion, did the Bishop expound and enlarge upon his Cathedral system; but, as subsequently will be seen, his statements of its aims and purposes did not save it or him from misrepresentation and even bitter attack later by men who could never have understood either. The charge was made against him that in his zeal for education he had diverted to education funds for missions; the truth was altogether different, the fact being that to render the Cathedral an effective missionary centre he so arranged his Cathedral system that the revenues derived from educational endowments held by St. John's College not only furnished incomes for Professors, but, at the same time, were made available for missions by providing under appropriate statutes that the Professors must be members of the capitular body; that is, that the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral, who were also Professors of the College, were bound to do missionary work in the Diocese, as a recognised part of their duty. In this way, too—by finding incomes for the Dean and Chapter from the revenues of the College endowments—did the Bishop succeed in making his Cathedral still further a "real Cathedral."

In 1874 the Bishop's plans for his Cathedral, like those for his College, were largely a matter of faith, but of what may be called intelligent, forecasting faith; it was not till nearly ten years afterwards that they assumed definite realisation on a scale approaching the

scope of his intentions. In 1874 there were but partial endowments for two Professorships—the Chair of Systematic Theology, which had been held by Archdeacon M'Lean, and that had an income of £200 a year; and the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, which the Bishop was gradually endowing chiefly from his own means, and that then had a capital of $7500 (£1500). The actual position was very well put by the Dean of Rupert's Land (Dr. O'Meara) in an article contributed to the *Mission Field* in March 1900, on "A Colonial Cathedral and its Work," in which he said that when the Bishop laid his plans for the founding of the Cathedral establishment the "assets were several hundred acres of valueless land, a College, with two Theological Chairs partly endowed, and a plain stone church two miles north of the small town of Winnipeg."

To start with, the Bishop gave the Cathedral what has been termed above a provisional Dean and Chapter; he himself was the Dean, and the occupants of his two Archdeaconries were Canons *ex officio*. To the third Canonry was appointed (1874) the Rev. John Grisdale, a missionary of the C.M.S. who had gone out to Manitoba in the autumn of 1873 for St. Andrew's parish; he had been a missionary in India, but had found its climate so injurious to his health that he had been compelled to seek another field of labour; to his Canonry was attached the Professorship of Systematic Theology, which had been vacated by Bishop M'Lean. The fourth Canon appointed (1875) was a Canadian, the Rev. J. D. O'Meara, whose connection with the College School has already been referred to; he had been Gold Medallist of the University of Toronto, and Head Master of Brantford Grammar School,

Ontario. A commencement had then been made of the endowment of a Professorship of Exegetical Theology, and Canon O'Meara held this Chair with his Canonry. In accordance with the Bishop's scheme, both Canon Grisdale and Canon O'Meara combined a great deal of missionary work with the discharge of their Cathedral and College duties. Such, then, were the beginnings of St. John's Cathedral as, in the Bishop's view, a "real Cathedral."

To elect delegates to the Synod of the new Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, the Bishop called a meeting of the Diocesan Synod on June 10, 1875. In addition to the Bishop, Bishop M'Lean and sixteen clergy assembled at St. John's, amongst them being the Rev. Richard Young, of Clare College, Cambridge (afterwards second Bishop of Athabasca), a missionary of the C.M.S. who had succeeded Canon Grisdale at St. Andrew's; there were also present twenty-two lay delegates; the total numbers showed that the Diocese was growing. On this occasion the Bishop delivered a short Address dealing mainly with the division of the parent See and the organisation of the new Dioceses under their respective Bishops; he had summoned this Synod, he said, for the important object of electing representatives from the Mother Diocese to the first Provincial Synod, which was to be held in the following August, the date having been chosen for the convenience of Bishop Bompas, who thought he would be able to attend it then.

He next referred to the incorporation of St. John's Cathedral by the Legislature, and the Statutes he had given to it, explaining their scope and purpose. He then spoke of the extensions that had been made to the College building, and stated that the funds

had been found by a loan to the College of $10,000 (£2000) from the endowment he himself had given to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History—so long as he held that Chair himself, as he did, the College would not be called on to pay interest, but the loan would eventually have to be repaid and re-invested, and the income from it set aside for the Professor who should occupy the Chair. After the Bishop had finished his Address, the Synod elected seven clerical and seven lay delegates to the Provincial Synod, and shortly afterwards was adjourned.

The first Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land—another landmark—met at St. John's on August 3 and 4, 1875. On August 3 Divine Service was held in the Cathedral in the morning, the Litany being read by Archdeacon Cowley, and Holy Communion administered by the Bishops of Rupert's Land, Moosonee, and Saskatchewan. After the conclusion of the Service, the Synod was opened by an Address from the Bishop of Rupert's Land; he began by regretting the absence of Dr. Bompas, the Bishop of Athabasca, who, after all, had found it out of his power to be present, but had sent a communication of his views. The other Bishops had drafted a Constitution to be submitted to the Synod, and Bishop Machray said he believed that Bishop Bompas would be most fully a consenting party to it. Continuing, the Bishop said:

> The Report of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops (1867) suggested that where a Provincial Synod does not exist it should be formed through the voluntary association of Dioceses for united legislation and common action; that the particular mode of effecting this in each case must be determined by those concerned; and that the action should have the concurrent assent of his Grace the Archbishop of

Photo E. J. Harnacher, White Horse.

BISHOP BOMPAS.

Photo E. E. White, Reading.

BISHOP M'LEAN.

Photo W. Notman, Montreal.

BISHOP HORDEN.

Canterbury, to whom the Bishops that are extra-Provincial have taken the oath of canonical obedience. The case with us is very simple. The Dioceses have all been formed out of the Diocese of Rupert's Land under a Canon recognising an Ecclesiastical Province, and the Archbishop of Canterbury has himself been mainly instrumental in bringing the effort to a successful issue. I have, however, obtained from his Grace his express consent that the Synod of the four Western Dioceses of North America should take in hand the question of the formation of themselves into a separate Province, and his assurance that he will give to what I may forward to him from this Synod the fullest consideration.

I think, looking at the vast extent of this land, it may be questioned whether it will ever be desirable for the Western Dioceses to be incorporated in one Provincial system with either the Eastern or British Columbia, though we may have some time a Council or Assembly for the whole Dominion. If the progress of the country should make intercourse easy and lessen differences of condition, it will, on the other hand, vastly increase population and multiply local subjects for deliberation. In the American Church there is a widespread desire for Provincial organisations. And in the Roman Catholic Church in Canada the old Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec, which included most of the country, has been divided into three Provinces, of which one has its Metropolitical See at St. Boniface, close to us. At present our circumstances are so exceptional, the interests of our Dioceses are so bound up with each other, politically as well as religiously, and, above all, it is so absolutely necessary that that great Society (the C.M.S.), on which throughout this huge country we at present mainly depend, should have the fullest confidence—a confidence amounting to certainty—that any Provincial action will be suited to the circumstances and exigencies of missionary work, that it is scarcely possible for us to do anything else than pursue the action we have taken.

After stating that Bishop Anderson, his predecessor, was in full sympathy with the formation of a

Provincial system for Rupert's Land separate from that of "Canada," he went on to consider the representation and voting of the Dioceses in the House of Delegates—the solution of any difficulty in their circumstances was the adoption of voting by Dioceses, if required, as was allowed in the General Convention of the American Church. Further, there was the contingency of a distant Diocese not being represented at all; that difficulty had been met in the Province of South Africa by making the Acts of a Synod where this occurred provisional till sanctioned by the Diocesan Synods. He next touched on the "important and difficult question" of the appointment of the Bishops. In the case of a large Diocese with self-supporting congregations its Synod would elect its Bishop, but that stage had not yet been reached in the Province of Rupert's Land, in which the Bishoprics and the congregations were still missionary organisations, and the matter might perhaps be deferred for a few years, when the mind of the Church might be more made up. For the present it would be better to leave the appointments in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In conclusion the Bishop said on this point:

> Let me then commend this question to the solemn consideration of the House of Delegates. I am sure that all must feel that the Bishopric is not to be treated simply as a prize. The work of the Church must, under God, be greatly dependent on the Bishop for many a day. I need not say that in wishing the patronage for a time to be with the Archbishop of Canterbury, I have no sympathy with seeking a Bishop elsewhere if the suitable man were already in the country. I have already quite sufficiently shown this. More than that, I dare venture to say that if such a man clearly stood out he would be quite as likely to be appointed in this way as in any other.

A Canon of Discipline had been proposed by the Bishops; it was a necessary measure, said the Bishop; the Canon was brief, avoiding vague terms, such as "frivolous conduct," to which any meaning might be attached, but he hoped it would be sufficient for meeting any case. And the draft of the Constitution which had been prepared was also brief, and left much to be filled in by the Diocesan Synods, a course which the Bishops thought most suited to their present stage of development. He next declared the Synod opened, and directed the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates to organise and elect a Prolocutor. After naming Archdeacon Cowley as Chairman till the House of Delegates had elected a Prolocutor, the Bishop and the other Bishops left the Lower House and went to their own House.

The House of Delegates appointed Archdeacon Cowley Prolocutor and Canon Grisdale Secretary. The Archdeacon was a member of the House *ex officio*; Rupert's Land was represented by seven clerical and seven lay delegates; Athabasca had one clerical and one lay delegate; Moosonee and Saskatchewan were unrepresented, as the late introduction of clergy into these Dioceses had made it inconvenient for the clergy to leave them. The House proceeded to consider the draft of a Constitution, and spent the rest of the day's session upon it, sending up some amendments to the Upper House, several of which the Bishops accepted wholly or partially. The Lower House deferred the reconsideration of the partially-accepted and rejected amendments till the following day. Next morning Divine Service was held in the Cathedral, when Dr. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, preached. He had come, with several of his leading clergy, to Winnipeg,

not only in fulfilment of a promise he had made to Bishop Machray (see p. 149), but also because he wished to be present at this first Provincial Synod as a sign of brotherly sympathy. A man of fine presence and great gifts, especially of the gift of eloquence sometimes passionate, sometimes persuasive, Bishop Whipple was known all over the American continent for his warm advocacy of the cause of the Red Indians, when to say a good word for them was thought little less than criminal in the United States. In the course of a remarkable sermon he said :

My beloved brother in the Apostleship has invited me to speak to you to-day. It is a great pleasure to meet so many of our kinsmen in the Lord. You come from widely separated fields, each bearing his own burden of cares and trials, to confer together concerning the interests of the kingdom of God. I turn aside from those questions of ritual and doctrine, upon which it is most fitting that you should receive instruction from your own spiritual fathers, to speak as a brother to a brother of Christian work. . . .

Brethren, yours is a missionary Church. It has been sent of God to reclaim and save these heathen races which are sunk in heathen sin, and to lay broad and deep a noble Christian civilisation. There is everything to excite in you a holy enthusiasm in Christian work. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan you are feeling the first wave of that incoming population which will make your country swarm with millions of souls. To you, as to us in the United States, God is sending the people of every tongue and clime and kin to be fused into a new race. Our Anglo-Saxon race has been chosen of God to receive into itself these divers peoples, and to give them its customs and traditions and laws. When you remember that since the Christian era there have been few such marked commingling of races, we must ask why our English-speaking race has been called in the providence of God to this mission. I believe it is because the Church of the Anglo-

Saxon is a pure branch of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church. . . .

To your infant Church is committed the work of laying the foundations of schools, hospitals, churches, and houses of mercy. In these new fields a Bishop's life is one of deferred hopes. He must lay the foundation in faith, and build with prayers and tears. It may be that he is only chosen of God to lay the corner-stone ; but God will find another to complete it. There is no failure in work for God. Was it a failure when the good Bishop of Montreal came here through the pathless forests to visit a few scattered missions in the wilderness? Was the life of good Bishop Anderson a failure, when through long years he did an apostle's work in these northern solitudes? Was it a failure when the dying Indian gave his son, Henry Budd, to God, whose name has nerved many to deeds of faith? Was it a failure when you sent M'Donald to preach Christ on the Yukon River, in the wilderness of the Arctic Circle? There is no branch of the Church that has had greater rewards for heroic faith. . . . You have never made an effort for this poor race (of Red men) which has been unrewarded. The story of your early missions reads like that of the deeds of faith in the early Church. It was this story that touched my heart to plead for our wretched heathen. . . .

Brethren, if ever there was a body of Christians who ought to be careful to maintain good works it is this Synod. I pray you in Christ's name leave unto others those questions which vex the Church with contentions and strifes. Be content to preach Christ, and work in His Church. Speak to men plainly, in His words, of the conditions of salvation. Hold up, as the ensign over you in every battle with falsehood and error, the dear old Creeds. Set forth in His name His Divine Sacraments. Do not attempt to define what God has not defined. Do not attempt to lay bare to human eyes what God has not revealed. Introduce no customs which will make yours a household divided against itself. Work and pray ; hope on and hope ever. You who now go forth bearing precious seed and weeping, shall come again, bringing your sheaves with you.

The Synod reassembled in the afternoon, and its

first act was to welcome the Minnesota clergy and invite them to take seats on the floor of the House. After considerable discussion, and a conference with the Upper House, the Constitution was passed by the House of Delegates, as also by the House of Bishops. The Lower House transacted some other business, and received a recommendation from the Upper House of prayers to be used in the Province for the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor, for the Legislatures, and for the meetings of the Provincial and Diocesan Synods. The two Houses then met together, and through the Bishop, now by the passing of the Constitution Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, presented an address of welcome to Bishop Whipple, which expressed their deep sense of his kindness in coming to be with them at "this important epoch in our Church's history." Bishop Whipple replied in appropriate terms, and then the Metropolitan closed the Synod, congratulating all on the excellent spirit with which the various propositions before them had been treated.

Condensed, the Constitution of the Church of England in Rupert's Land was as follows :

1. The four Dioceses of Rupert's Land, Moosonee, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca formed an Ecclesiastical Province under the Presidency of a Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury being Primate.

2. The Church of the Province stood by the Standards of Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England, received the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons as therein set forth, accepted the English version of the Bible, and disclaimed the right of altering the Standards of the Church. It provided, however, that the Church was not prevented from accepting alterations in the version of the Bible or the formularies of the Church which might be adopted by

the Church of England, or from using special prayers drawn up by its own Bishops.

3. The Provincial and Diocesan Synods were declared to be the legislative bodies of the Church of the Province, the former to deal with questions of common interest to the whole, the latter with matters of local interest.

4. The Provincial Synod was to consist of the Bishops of the Province and of Delegates chosen from the clergy and laity of the Province, the Bishops deliberating in a House of Bishops, and the Delegates in a House of Delegates; one House could confer with the other when occasion arose. Before proceeding to business the Houses were to meet together for the formal opening of the Synod, and meet again at the close of the session to hear the official notification of the acts of the Synod. The clerical and lay Delegates were to consist of not more than seven of each Order, to be elected by each Diocesan Synod. Provision was made for "voting by Orders" and "voting by Dioceses" when necessary. Unless three Bishops were present, and unless three Dioceses were represented in a Provincial Synod, its acts were to be provisional until accepted by the Diocesan Synods. All acts to have force had to be sanctioned by both Houses. The Provincial Synod was to meet every fourth year on the second Wednesday in August, but the Metropolitan could summon an emergency meeting.[1]

5. The Constitution of the Diocese of Rupert's Land was to remain unaltered for the present. The Synods of the new Dioceses were to be called by their respective Bishops as soon as possible.

6. In case of vacancies, the appointments to the Sees of Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan were to rest with the Archbishop of Canterbury until there were twelve clergymen in either Diocese supported by endowment or by their congregations, when the Diocesan Synod was to elect a Bishop, subject to the election being confirmed by the House of Bishops. The C.M.S. were to have the appointment to the Sees of

[1] Afterwards it was arranged that the Provincial Synod should meet every third year.

Moosonee and Athabasca so long as the Bishops were supported by that Society.

7. Bishop Machray was appointed Metropolitan.

8. Bishops might be consecrated either in England or in Rupert's Land.

9. Dioceses might be subdivided by the Provincial Synod with the consent of the Bishops affected.

10. Assistant Bishops might be appointed in certain eventualities.

11. The Metropolitan convoked and presided over the meetings of the Provincial Synod, and over the House of Bishops when it met as a Court for the trial of a cause or for hearing an appeal.

12. A Canon of Discipline provided for the trial of Bishop, Priest, or Deacon for crime or immorality, heresy or false doctrine, and wilful violation of the Canons and Regulations of the Provincial or Diocesan Synods.

13. The Constitution could not be changed except by a two-thirds majority of the House of Bishops, and a two-thirds majority of each Order of the House of Delegates.

CHAPTER XIII

GROWTH OF COUNTRY AND CHURCH

1876–1880

TEN years had elapsed since the Consecration of Dr. Machray as Bishop of Rupert's Land—ten busy, crowded, eventful years, in which the foundations had been well and truly laid on the "lines of the old Church," as the Bishop phrased it when writing to a friend; next followed a period of several years' duration when, to continue the metaphor, the superstructures began to rise—a period of no striking, sudden, or outstanding change in the Church, but of growth and, on the whole, of steady development. In 1876 the country showed a material advance, although the two preceding years had again brought disaster and great distress to the settlers because of the renewed invasion of countless hosts of grasshoppers which utterly ruined the crops. So tremendous was the havoc wrought by these creatures that the Dominion Government had to come forward with supplies of flour, pork, and seed-wheat for the most necessitous of the people.

Yet the country went on growing and increasing in numbers. Even in those two years of gloom and suffering the population of Winnipeg doubled; the

3000 inhabitants of 1874 had become 6000 in 1876. Small towns and villages sprang up on the prairies, such as Emerson, Portage la Prairie, and Selkirk, and many little settlements appeared behind those already formed, some of them lying a considerable distance away from the Red River and Assiniboine parishes. The North-West Territories, the government of which had been carried on from Winnipeg by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, were given a government and a capital of their own, the alteration in their political status indicating that settlement was also going into them. In spite of all checks and discouragements, the settlers, whether old or new, remained steadfast, hopeful, confident, unafraid. "I share the strong belief of the people of Manitoba," said the Bishop, "in the wonderful capabilities of this young country."

As yet the Church stood far ahead of any other religious body in Manitoba,[1] but it was already feeling —what it still feels—the difficulty and the pressure of establishing missions in the widely scattered, sparsely peopled settlements. The Church occupied Portage la Prairie, Selkirk, a town growing up in the parish of St. Clement's on the Red River, and Emerson ; started, under Canon Grisdale, a mission in the north of Winnipeg, which developed into Christ Church ; and sent representatives to the outlying settlements of Cook's Creek, Victoria, and Woodlands, which could be reached by the College-Cathedral staff ; but other settlements lying farther afield had to be left without Services because of the want of men and means. In many cases the new settlements were too distant from the old parishes on the two rivers for their Incumbents

[1] Canon O'Meara in *Mission Field*, May 1876.

to do much for them. The larger part of the missionary work was done from St. John's, but its staff was not big enough to undertake it all. The Bishop, anxious for the new districts, stated that he required three travelling missionaries for them, but had not the funds at his command.

The great majority of the settlers came from Eastern Canada, but the Church in that part of the Dominion would do little or nothing to help the Bishop, who, appealing to the S.P.G. for men, wrote: "There is no use mincing matters. Churchmen in 'Canada' are so divided and so taken up with themselves that the Church here will receive no substantial aid from them, although so many Canadian Churchmen are coming over to our settlements. . . . 'Canada' does not give us $100 (£20) a year." The want of support from Eastern Canada was not only a thing grievous in itself, but contrasted painfully with the action of other religious organisations with respect to Manitoba missions. Keenly alive to the opportunity presented by the North-West, the Presbyterian Church and the Wesleyan Church in old Canada were ever sending fresh supplies of men and money into Manitoba, and were eager and ready to take advantage of the opening made by the presence of some of their people in a settlement—as, of course, they were quite justified in doing. From the Church point of view the trouble resulting from this was, that as any given new settlement, or two or three such settlements grouped into a missionary district, was not, as a rule, able to support more than one Church, the religious body first in the field held it against the others. So, while as a Christian he was glad that the settlers should have religious services of any kind, the Bishop could not, as a Churchman, who

saw no way of doing things better than the Church has directed (see p. 122), regard the position with entire satisfaction, particularly as in all these settlements were members of the Church that were apt to be lost to it from the absence of clergymen and Services of their own. In 1876 the struggle to hold the ground for the Church was already begun.

There was a meeting of the Diocesan Synod on January 12, 1876, at which the Bishop referred to the situation as well as other matters. On this occasion there assembled sixteen clergy and seventeen laymen ; amongst the former was the Rev. S. P. Matheson (now Archbishop), who had been ordained in the previous year ; as boy and student he had passed through St. John's with great distinction, and was at this time, as has been stated, a Master in the College School ; before taking Orders he had done missionary work, and was now also on the College-Cathedral mission staff.

In his Address the Bishop commented on the legal *status* of the Synods, which, he said, was derived only from the consent of the members of the Church amongst themselves as expressed in a Canon of Submission to the Synods ; such a Canon, prepared on lines similar to that in force in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada, would be submitted for consideration. After alluding to various subjects, such as the necessity for adopting the Canon of Discipline passed by the recent Provincial Synod, and for obtaining a Temporalities Act for incorporating the Synod, parishes, and missions of the Diocese, the Bishop reviewed the position of the Church, which had two aspects—the work in Manitoba, of a colonial-missionary character ; and that among the Indians, of the purely missionary

type. With regard to the former, the Bishop gave details of what the Church was doing, and of what it was unable to do from want of means. The resources of the Church were still required for the old parishes, and the members of the College-Cathedral staff were doing whatever was in their power, but travelling missionaries were needed for the Boyne and Pembina country, for Woodlands and the neighbouring settlements, and for the new settlements in the west of Manitoba. For these missions the sum of $2000 (£400) was necessary, and he announced that Archdeacon Cowley was to visit Canada shortly to endeavour to raise the money under the sanction of the Eastern Bishops.

The Bishop stated that he was about to take two important steps : he had given Statutes to the Cathedral, and he now proposed to surrender to the Synod the power of altering them ; he had also given Statutes to the College, and, similarly, he was to transfer to the Synod the power of changing them. Referring to the Cathedral, he said :

> The Cathedral is answering well the great ends which I have had in view. It is the Bishop's Church where he has a willing staff around him. It is a School of Theology. It is a Mission Centre. It thus serves great ends, and as the population increases round us, and there is a large field of work close to us, its importance will be increasingly felt. I have thoughtfully and anxiously provided Statutes for it, and I now propose to surrender into the hands of the Synod the power of altering them. I trust the Cathedral will grow to be the pride of the Diocese. It is for me to strive for the men we need. In my day we must struggle for the living agent. But it is not that I am insensible to the beauty of fine architecture. Nothing should be thought too costly for the service of God. But a grand Cathedral must be the dream—at any rate, the work—of another day.

Alluding to the College, he observed :

I wish to say a few words on the important step I am taking of surrendering into your hands the power of altering and amending the Statutes I have given the College. The building up of this College has been my great effort. I have felt it to be my pressing duty to the Diocese to do so. I might have gone somewhat more into your parishes, but I do not know that there would have been much advantage. I know very well how things are going on in most cases. Too much interference by a Bishop is worse than too little. But we could do nothing without Schools. I feel a good deal has been accomplished, and I wish the work to stand. Therefore, as life is very uncertain, I wish to commit the work to your affectionate care. May God bless and prosper the undertaking to the latest time, and make it redound to His Glory.

Speaking of the Indian missions, the Bishop rejoiced in seeing a considerable advance. A new mission, with outlying stations, had been opened at Fort Francis by the Rev. R. Phair ; a clergyman had been placed at Touchwood Hills ; Grand Rapids was again to be occupied. On the other hand, the Bishop had to deplore the death of the famous missionary at Devon on the Saskatchewan—the Rev. Henry Budd, who had been the first Indian convert in the country and the first native clergyman, a man on whose labours among the Indians a " very great blessing " had rested. Several bands of refugee Sioux Indians had recently come into Manitoba, and the Bishop hoped to start a mission soon amongst them, having already some funds in hand for the purpose.

After referring to the continued success of St. John's College and School, and the need for the establishment of a Ladies' School, the Bishop finished his Address with some noteworthy sentences. It was sometimes thought, and said, by those who knew only the outside,

so to speak, of the Bishop's life, that while he was a great Church organiser and statesman, he "lacked spirituality." Yet to those who met him from day to day, as well as in the midst of difficulties and discouragements, it was known that "religion was to his own soul that living, delightful thing" which, in his lecture (see p. 91) on John Howe, he said it was to that grand old Puritan. In concluding his Address to this Synod, he said:

In bringing my remarks to a close, let me say that something more is necessary than the best organisation. All may be only of the earth, earthy. "It is by my Spirit," says the Lord. "Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it." What is the body, though so fearfully and wonderfully made, without life? We have each of us to think for ourselves and for the Church. What is the real remedy for all the ills and necessities of the Church? Is it not the Baptism of the Spirit? It is this that makes men act from a sense of duty. It is this that rouses them to willing self-sacrifice. It is this that discloses to them the priceless value of the souls for whom Christ died. Pray, brethren, that the Spirit of God may be with our Pastors and with their flocks, that they may have life, that they may find themselves in the Fold of the Good Shepherd, that they may be saved, and go in and out and find pasture.

Some people deemed the Bishop somewhat "stern"; touching this Archbishop Matheson writes:

People who only saw him outwardly sometimes thought that he was stern, unbending, and almost severe. He could put on a stern manner, but those who were permitted to come into touch with his inner life knew that he possessed the most kindly and sympathetic nature. He had the most marvellous self-control, so that he rarely "showed his feelings," but they were there all the same, and when you were in trouble he made you feel that in him you had the sympathy of a brother,

combined with the strength of a Great Man of God. His self-control under the most trying circumstances was wonderful. Though I was associated with him very closely for nearly forty years, and passed with him through valleys that often were dark with deep glooms of sorrow, I never, except on one occasion, saw him shed an outward tear, and yet I never knew a man of finer sympathy, or one who so thrilled you with a sense of sympathy for you, while saying so little in words to you about it.

In the Synod of 1876 it was carried unanimously, "That this Synod cordially accepts the Statutes and the power of legislating for St. John's College and St. John's Cathedral which his Lordship the Metropolitan of Rupert's Land tenders for its acceptance; and would record its gratitude to Almighty God for the success which has crowned his Lordship's untiring and self-sacrificing efforts to place these institutions upon a permanent and effective footing." The Canon of Submission of Clergy to the Provincial and Diocesan Synods, and the Canon of Discipline, were passed.

During the summer of that year the Bishop made a Visitation of the missions on the east side of Winnipeg, proceeding by waggon to the Lake of the Woods, and thence by canoe down the Winnipeg River to Islington, an important station of the C.M.S. After holding Confirmation and other Services, he returned to St. John's by Lake Winnipeg. He made a similar but more extended journey in this district four years later, crossing on that occasion Lake of the Woods, and ascending Rainy River to Fort Francis, the mission mentioned in his Address to the Synod in 1876.

The visit of Archdeacon Cowley to the Eastern Dioceses of Canada met with very partial success, the amount raised being a little over $600 (£120); he

went on to England, where he obtained about £80 ($400) more, but when in London he succeeded in enlisting, for the establishment of a Ladies' College in connection with St. John's, the sympathy of the Rev. Henry Wright, the Honorary Secretary of the C.M.S., who offered the splendid gift of £1500 ($7500), afterwards increased to £2000 ($10,000), towards it.

With 1875 the plague of grasshoppers ceased; there was an abundant harvest in 1876, and Manitoba demonstrated, for the first time on a considerable scale, its capacity for producing great crops of wheat and other cereals, one marked result being a large increase in the number of immigrants. Railways had not yet entered the Province, but had come nearer the frontier; the steamers on the Red River were crowded all that season, and after navigation had closed in October many people arrived by stage, which now was running daily from the railway terminus in Minnesota to Winnipeg.

"We are no longer isolated," said the Bishop to his Synod in May 1877. "By means of telegraphic communication, connecting us with the United States and Canada, newspaper enterprise presents us daily with the latest telegrams from all parts of the world. The telegraph has already been carried for about a thousand miles to the west of us. The expenses of living are considerably less than they have been for some years. We can have in our houses the conveniences and luxuries of modern life. We may look forward to a near future when we shall have tasteful and substantial public buildings and residences, and when the fertile land of this country will be made to beautify their surroundings." He then went on to speak of the progress of the Church. Within eighteen

months five new churches had been built and opened, and four of them had been consecrated, while four more were in course of erection. There was also a considerable advance in contributions from the congregations towards the support of their ministers; one church, Holy Trinity, Winnipeg, had become self-supporting. The statistics published at the end of the Report of this Synod showed that there were now twenty-nine parishes and missions in the Diocese (the reduced Diocese), with twenty-five clergy and six catechists. Further evidences of the growth of both country and Church were seen in that the College buildings, though so recently enlarged, were no longer able to afford accommodation to all who wished to enter the College and the College School, and Canon Grisdale was sent to England to plead for funds for St. John's, while the Ladies' College also was erected in that year.

At this Synod the Bishop stated that he intended going to England in the following year to be present at the Lambeth Conference, and for other business mainly connected with the Diocese. Hitherto he had acted as general treasurer of the diocesan funds; in view of his departure he desired to be relieved of this financial work, and proposed handing to the Synod, St. John's College, and the Cathedral respectively, the various funds he held in trust for them. He also suggested that the appointment of a Secretary of the Mission Board would soon be necessary, as more active, regular, and sustained efforts would have to be made for the support of the missions, if the Church were to be equal to its opportunities. More missionaries were needed, and the strain on the Mission Board, already great, must be expected to become greater as population increased in the country. He then referred

to the question of education in Manitoba. As the province became more and more prosperous, its schools would become stronger and better, but he deplored the difficulty of maintaining in them the giving of a religious education, and said :

> If the leading Protestant denominations were unable to accept the same translation of the Bible, or if they differed from each other on the essential truths that are found in the Apostles' Creed, then it might be hopeless to come to any understanding. But it is not so. There is nothing to prevent in our schools the daily recognition of the necessity of the divine blessing, and of the Word of God as the source of all wisdom and knowledge, in the opening and closing of the school by a simple form of prayer and the reading of God's Word. Further, there is nothing that should prevent the learning of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and the use of a catechism explaining these that would bring before the minds of the young the leading facts of revealed religion and of the Christian Faith.
>
> I acknowledge the first importance in these days of a good secular education, and it is perfectly impossible for any separate Protestant denomination to undertake the work of efficiently supplying primary education in its parishes. Therefore we must endeavour to work heartily with the system that is established by the State, and, as far as we can, supply its deficiencies. . . . I see no necessity for our Protestant schools being deprived of what I consider the precious privilege of religious teaching. . . . For various reasons I view with deep regret and suspicion its absence. . . . Such teaching is necessary for setting up what is the only true standard of right and wrong.

The Bishop here set forth his view as to the relation that should subsist between religious education and secular in Manitoba ; it was a subject to which he frequently returned in succeeding years, and the part he took in the " Manitoba Schools Question," and the bitter controversy that raged round it in Manitoba and

the whole of Canada, will be related in due course. In 1877 he was Chairman of the Provincial Board of Education, Protestant Section, as he had been since the passing of the Education Act of Manitoba in 1871, by its first Legislature, and one of his leading clergymen, the Rev. W. C. Pinkham, was Superintendent of the Protestant schools of the Province. But what may be styled the secular spirit was strong, even thus early. The notable thing is that it was in the domain of education that Manitoba at this time took a great stride forward. It was not only in the Church that there were men of faith, foresight, and large views, in these days of the pioneers.

The most outstanding feature in the annals of the country in 1877 was in every way remarkable; it was connected but indirectly with the Church, yet it was intimately bound up with the life then and afterwards of the Bishop. On February 20 the Legislature of the Province passed an Act founding the University of Manitoba, and not long afterwards the Bishop was appointed its first Chancellor by the Government; the appointment was for three years, but the Bishop was reappointed Chancellor again and again until his death. In introducing the measure in the Legislature, the Minister who had it in charge, the Hon. Joseph Royal (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories), said that the Government felt that the foundation of a Provincial University might be somewhat premature, but that this step had been urged upon them for two years past. He did not mention any name, but it was understood that the bill had been inspired by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. Alexander Morris, who had come to Manitoba in 1872 as Chief Justice, becoming, on the resignation of Governor Archi-

bald, Lieutenant-Governor about the end of that year. Perhaps the measure was in part the result of conversations Mr. Morris had had with the heads of the three incorporated Colleges then in existence—St. Boniface, St. John's, and Manitoba, but none of them had anything to do with its being brought forward before the local Parliament. It may be said, without hesitation, that no other country ever had such an institution provided for it so early in its history.

The University was unique among Colonial Universities. The three incorporated Colleges, united in a sort of republic, formed the basis. The difficulty arising from their belonging to different Churches—Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Presbyterian—was bridged over in the most amicable way by making the subjects in which the University examined candidates for degrees those on which all three Colleges met as upon common ground—Classics, Mathematics, Natural Science, and Modern Languages—while adequate provision was made for conciliating varying points of view on "contentious" subjects, such as Mental and Moral Philosophy and History. It was provided that the University was to be an examining institution at first, and not a teaching institution, though later it might become so (as it has become). Each College was given power to form a separate Faculty of Theology, with the right of conferring degrees in Divinity, and graduates holding such degrees were given exactly the same standing in the University as other graduates. It was enacted that the examinations were to be conducted in English or French, the two languages of the Province, according to the desire of the student—St. Boniface, it will be remembered, was a French-speaking College.

The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being was made Visitor, with certain powers. The Governing Body was composed of a Chancellor, appointed by the Government for three years, of a Vice-Chancellor, appointed for a year at first by the Government, but after the first year elected by the Council, and of a Council consisting of seven representatives from each of the Colleges, three representatives elected by Convocation, which was made up of all graduates resident in the Province of any recognised University in the Dominion who registered their qualifications with the Provincial Secretary before a specified date, and one member of each section of the Board of Education. Provision was also made for the affiliation of other Colleges, and of Medical or Law Schools, which might come into being, and of Normal Schools for the training of teachers, as also for the examination of non-collegiate students. Under its Statutes the general superintendence of all examinations was entrusted to a Board of Studies, consisting of two members of Council elected annually by each of the affiliated Colleges, and two members elected annually by the Council at a statutory meeting. The University course was spread over three years, and the students graduated either by taking an "Ordinary" or an "Honours" Degree; for the former there were three Examinations, a Preliminary, a Previous, and a Final, and for the latter a Previous and a Final Examination; these arrangements, and even the names of the examinations, followed the model of Cambridge, and were doubtless suggested by the Bishop.

Conceived on broad and generous lines, the scheme for the University had as its distinguishing characteristic a pronounced consideration for differing modes of

thought, with the intention of drawing to the institution from the start the support both of the State and of the whole community. From the outset the project received the enthusiastic support of Bishop Machray, who was no believer in denominational Universities, and he brought to its assistance and development all the rich store of knowledge and experience that Cambridge and Aberdeen had given him. His acquaintance with these two Universities had satisfied him that, everything considered, it was better for students to be in residence in College under supervision than to live practically independently in lodgings. The three Colleges fulfilled this condition, but the University also allowed the other to obtain for non-collegiates. Before the passing of the Act he had been in correspondence with the Dominion Government with respect to St. John's College being authorised to grant degrees in Divinity; the provision in this respect made by the Act for all the Colleges was quite satisfactory to him. Addressing the Synod of 1877, the Bishop said:

> I have to congratulate you on the passing of the Act creating the University of Manitoba. On the whole, it has a constitution about as satisfactory as could be devised in the immediate condition of things. It unites all the denominations and Colleges in the examinations for degrees in Arts, Sciences, Medicine, and Law. By its recognition of denominational Colleges, with their own internal government secured to them, it satisfies those who feel the first importance of a religious character and control, while it does not prevent the affiliation of Colleges independent of such direction. It also at the same time secures for the different denominations, with the consent of their governing bodies, the power of establishing in their Colleges a Faculty for conferring theological degrees. I feel very much gratified with the result. All is gained that I desired.

In prescribing subjects, books, methods of study, and in the working out generally of details, the various points of view of the different Colleges, especially of St. Boniface, had to be considered and, if possible, reconciled. With this object private meetings were held at St. John's College, over which the Bishop presided; the best feeling prevailed, and everything was arranged harmoniously in the end, largely owing to the friendly sentiments and good sense of Father Forget, the Rector of St. Boniface, whom the Bishop characterised as the "lovable Rector" in an article on the University which he contributed in 1896 to the *Encyclopædia of Canada*, edited by the well-known Canadian publicist, Mr. Castel Hopkins. Thus from the beginning—and thenceforward—Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians worked together for the University with right good-will; when differences arose, as they were bound to arise, they were considered and overcome in a spirit of mutual tolerance and esteem, and ever on that side was thrown the large influence of the Bishop, who, while holding his own opinions, respected those of men differing conscientiously from him.

Under the Act St. John's College became an integral part of the University, and its students were prepared for the University examinations, involving a good deal of additional work on the College staff. It was still the day of small things, and the University began with a small handful of students. Seven presented themselves for examination at the end of the first year, 1878, and of these the majority were undergraduates of St. John's; twenty years later the University had upwards of 400 students. In 1877 the University had very little money to support it, its main revenue

being derived from a grant by the Provincial Government of $250 (£50); the Dominion Government, however, came to its assistance by presenting to it an endowment, though not of immediate value, in the shape of a grant of 150,000 acres of land in the Province, and the Provincial Government gradually augmented the subsidy as the University increased in numbers with the growth of the country. The first meeting of the Council was held on October 4, 1877, and among other things Major Jarvis, a Cambridge man, was appointed Registrar.

Here the writer will perhaps be pardoned introducing a personal, but interesting, if amusing, reminiscence of that day of small things. Shortly after the first meeting of the University Council the Bishop sent for him (then a theological student of St. John's), and told him to go with the other theological students, three in number, and the two head boys of the College School, to the residence of Major Jarvis, the Registrar, to be matriculated. The small band of six, nothing loth, but hardly realising the dignity of their position as the first undergraduates of a University destined some day to be great, walked from St. John's across the snow to Point Douglas, Winnipeg, where the Major lived. Finding him at home, the writer, who acted as spokesman, told the Major of the nature of the business on which they had come, whereupon he smiled and looked a little blank, observing that there was no University Register yet in existence. However, he was equal to the occasion, produced a half-sheet of ordinary writing-paper, and bade them inscribe their names upon it! Thus and thus were the beginnings of the University of Manitoba, which, at the time this biography is written, has

an attendance of 1100 students, of whom about 200 are ladies.

The winter of 1877-78 passed tranquilly away. A meeting of the Diocesan Synod was held on May 15, 1878, at which sixteen clergy and eighteen lay delegates were present. The Address of the Bishop was largely taken up with a consideration of the position of the Diocese, more especially from a financial standpoint. He mentioned that he was resigning the care of its funds to the Synod, and desired the appointment of a Secretary of Synod who should look after the support of the missions and other business affairs. He stated that he was about to leave for England, not for relaxation, but to attend the Lambeth Conference, to make another appeal for the assistance of the College, and to be present for a time at Sidney, the Statutes of which College were to be revised; he still held his Fellowship of Sidney, "not without advantage to the Diocese." After the Bishop had concluded his remarks, the Synod elected Canon Grisdale Secretary and Treasurer of the Synod, and a Diocesan Mission Board was formed.

A fortnight later the Bishop left for England, but before his departure for Winnipeg he was presented by the Synod, in the presence of a large audience, with an illuminated address, congratulating him on the "wonderful success" which had attended his efforts for the Church, enumerating them in detail, and speaking at the same time of the devotion and self-denial he had shown. In his reply the Bishop said, "It is a very full payment for any exertion I may have made to feel that I have the confidence and affection of the Diocese. . . . I gratefully accept from you the word devotion, for I feel I have consecrated myself wholly to Christ's

work among you ; but there is another word which you kindly add which I must refuse, and that is self-denial. I do not know that there is a single action or effort that has cost me a moment's regret. What I have done has been a labour of love."

Arriving in England at the end of June, the Bishop spent the month of July in London, stopping with his kind friends, the Rev. C. A. Jones and Mrs. Jones, 2 Little Dean's Yard, Westminster. The second Lambeth Conference met on July 2, 1878, there being present a hundred Bishops of the Anglican Communion, drawn from all parts of the world. The Bishop was assigned a seat with the other Metropolitans by the side of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was given an opportunity during the Conference of making a statement respecting the Diocese, which was afterwards published in a condensed form as a letter addressed to the Archbishop. Most of the work of the Conference was done by six committees, of two of which the Bishop was a member. The Bishop's chief feeling regarding this Conference was one of deep satisfaction with the substantial unity displayed on all questions of moment, and the decided witness borne to the great principles on which the reformation of the Church of England was conducted. After visits to relations and friends, he took a short holiday in Switzerland, returning to England in September to prosecute his appeal for funds for St. John's College. He saw the Secretaries of the great Societies, and found them, as usual, attentive and sympathetic. From London as headquarters he went during the winter to various Church centres, where he spoke of the needs of the Church in Manitoba and the North-West, meeting, however, with only partial success, as a depression existed in all

classes of industry and in business generally which deepened as the winter advanced. The Christmas season he spent at Cambridge with Mr. Williams-Ellis; he had already been at Sidney for the revision of the College Statutes.

Towards the end of February he submitted a Memorandum to the Church Societies, reviewing the position and progress of his Diocese and of Manitoba. He showed the growth of the country by quoting statistics. In 1876 free homesteads had been taken up to the extent of 55,000 acres, in 1878 of nearly 300,000 acres; in 1870 there existed sixteen Protestant school districts, in 1878, a hundred; in 1870 there were sixteen post-offices, in 1878, fifty-eight. All this advance had been made in the face of plagues of grasshoppers and other discouragements, such as slow and dear travel; now the grasshoppers had disappeared, and a railway was about to reach Winnipeg. A tremendous development of immigration must be the inevitable result, with a correspondingly great call upon the Church, which it could only meet if it were given support from outside the Diocese. Other religious bodies were alive to the opportunities and necessities of the case; the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans of Eastern Canada were sending ministers with abundant means behind them into the Province of Manitoba and farther west. The Bishop, therefore, asked for large aid from the Societies, particularly the Colonial Church Societies, to enable him to "hold the ground," as he was not being supported by the Church in Eastern Canada in any degree approaching the support given in that part of the Dominion to their missionaries by other denominations.

The depression then affecting the whole of England

Photo Maull and Co.

Bishop Machray, 1880.

had told upon the incomes of the English Societies, but they responded nobly. The S.P.C.K. voted £500 ($2500) to the endowment of each of the Chairs of Exegetical Theology and Ecclesiastical History of St. John's College, and £380 ($1900) for scholarships for three years; this Society also voted £1000 ($5000) to the College for new buildings on certain conditions, while the S.P.G., in spite of a diminished income, set apart for Rupert's Land almost all the funds at their disposal from their withdrawal from other fields which they thought should be independent of their aid. The Bishop's appeal to Churchmen generally resulted in his obtaining about £2500 ($12,500), mostly in small sums, the highest donation being £100 ($500). Considering the depression, this amount showed how hard the Bishop had worked, but as he required four times the sum he was greatly disappointed. On his return to Winnipeg in the summer of 1879 he was presented with an address by his people, expressing their deep and affectionate regard, and a purse of $800 (£160). The Bishop, cheered but much affected, thanked his friends warmly for the address and the gift; the money he handed to the College to form a beginning of the "Machray Exhibition for Sons of the Clergy."

On August 13 the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land held its second meeting at St. John's, under the Presidency of the Bishop as Metropolitan, Bishops Horden and M'Lean also being present; there was a fair representation of clerical and lay delegates. The session was a very short one. In the morning Divine Service was held in the Cathedral, with a sermon by Bishop Horden; in the afternoon the Metropolitan delivered a brief Address, in which he intimated that

the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of the Province, had given his full approval to the acts of the first Provincial Synod (1875). Notice of the formation of the Ecclesiastical Province, he said, had been sent to all the Archbishops, the Primus of Scotland, all Metropolitans in the Colonies, and the presiding Bishop of the American Church, and he specially mentioned that the Metropolitan of the Province of Canada had sent to them the kindest congratulations. The Province of Rupert's Land had now been recognised throughout the whole Church, and he alluded to his having been placed beside the other Metropolitans at the Lambeth Conference by the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the previous Provincial Synod an invitation to join the Province had been sent to the Diocese of British Columbia; the Bishop announced that it had been declined.

In the autumn of 1879 a line of railway from the south reached Winnipeg, the population of which had increased to 10,000. In the spring of 1880 there was a decided increase in the volume of immigration, and it continued to swell all through that year and the next, until a region 120 miles in breadth by 200 miles in length was thinly covered with settlements. Many little towns and villages rose as if by magic on the prairies. From this time onward the work of the Bishop, which had steadily been growing more arduous, became a continuous struggle, ever growing harder and harder as the pressure and strain waxed more and more intense,—the struggle to find men and means to open and carry on new missions as well as to maintain the old, and to sustain and fortify the College and other educational efforts; that he kept up this struggle for nearly twenty-five years showed the splendid fibre of

which this man was made. He found change and some relaxation while travelling in a Visitation of the eastern missions in the summer of 1880 (see p. 268), but the pressure and strain was soon on him again. Writing to the Secretary of the C.C.C.S. in October, he apologised for not being able to send reports of the missions supported by that Society : " I feel exceedingly to blame for not writing you sooner respecting your missions, but I can only say that I am doing the work of two or three men, and I fear the work of none of them too satisfactorily. I am up early and go late to rest, and every day brings such a pressure of immediate needs that correspondence gets delayed from day to day and from week to week."

In the autumn he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating briefly but with anxious clearness the circumstances in which the Diocese was placed by the influx of settlers, and its inability to cope with it satisfactorily unless assisted from England. He pressed the point that the Church in Eastern Canada was helping but little ; it had its own mission needs, and seemed to be able to spare hardly anything for Manitoba and the North-West, whereas the Presbyterians and Wesleyans in Eastern Canada were supporting their missions in these regions with energy and devotion. He asked for similar help from England. The Archbishop replied sympathetically to the Bishop, and also wrote to the Rev. C. A. Jones, of Westminster School, the Bishop's Commissary, a letter in which he said : " Looking to the probable future of Manitoba, the claims set forth by the Bishop seem to me to be of an exceptionally important kind, and I cannot but think that no time ought to be lost in helping the Bishop to meet the wants of the rapidly growing

population." The Archbishop communicated with the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., recommending exceptional aid to Rupert's Land in view of its exceptional position.

At a meeting of the Diocesan Synod held on November 24, 1880, and attended by sixteen clergy and eighteen lay delegates, the Bishop spoke of the deepening responsibility of their position from the growth of the country. He alluded to the work of other bodies with whom their relations were "so friendly and kind" without any compromise of their distinctive principles, and longed for something of the sympathy and help with which these bodies were supported by their brethren in "Canada." Turning to their own work, he spoke of grants from the S.P.G. for Emerson, Nelsonville, and Victoria, for Morris and Rapid City, but said that they all knew that the settlement of the country was going on so quickly that the missionaries at Nelsonville and Rapid City were simply lost in the vast tracts that their ministrations touched. In each of these large areas the Presbyterians and Wesleyans had each from four to six ministers, yet not a few of the settlers were Churchmen. Where were they to look for aid? He hoped that in time they would receive substantial aid from Eastern Canada, the Provincial Synod of which had recently established an organisation with that object. $4000 (£800) from Canada, with what they got from England, would be sufficient for the day, but what about the morrow? He urged his people to try to do more of and for themselves. The Mission Board had put forward a plan, asking for at least five cents (2½d.) a month for the Home Mission Fund from every member of the Church above eighteen years of age. He reminded the Synod that this kind of plan was the secret of the financial success of the

Wesleyans and of the Free Church of Scotland, and he trusted it would be adopted throughout the Diocese.

Speaking of the College, he regretted that neither his efforts nor those of Canon Grisdale, who had been in England in 1877-78, had resulted in any marked lessening of the debt caused by the additions to the buildings. For the present the staff of the College was sufficient, but the University work had added to its duties, and some addition to its numbers would soon be necessary, as the number of students must increase with the growth of the country. He next touched on their most recent venture, the Ladies' College; the building had been erected free of debt (by the Bishop making up from his own pocket a deficiency of some $8000 (£1600), but the College was not paying its way, and there was already a floating debt of $5000 (£1000). The Bishop commended the effort to the generosity of local Churchmen, and asked for subscriptions for it. However, there was ground for hope and courage. "Much has been accomplished, not without labour, for we have had few large gifts," he said in conclusion. "It would not take much now to give our Schools an independent position, and then we should have before us as a single aim the noble enterprise of supplying the means of grace to this great country — the empire that is being founded in this great land."

CHAPTER XIV

A WESTERN 'BOOM'

1881–1883

Railway building gave a sudden, dramatic, and, though it was not perceived at once, an almost tragic acceleration to the volume of settlement into Manitoba and the North-West in the years 1881-84, which was focused in what came to be called the "Winnipeg Boom." These "Booms"—periods of rapid speculative expansion, resulting in unreasonable inflation in the values of land followed by equally unreasonable collapse—are common to the experience of most Western communities in both the United States and Canada; one of the most frequent causes of them is the construction of railways. A line of railway connecting Winnipeg with the railway systems of the United States was in operation in the autumn of 1879, but the line was to all intents and purposes an American railroad and not a Canadian. The Dominion, including Manitoba, wanted a railway wholly on Canadian soil, passing through Winnipeg east to Toronto, Montreal, and the Atlantic, and west across the long leagues of prairie and mountain to the Pacific. The Dawson route, a way of travel at best nothing but a bad waggon-road, was a confessed failure, and, in any

case, could not compete with the facilities offered by the American railways to intending settlers. In 1880 the Dominion Government, after having done some railway building in Manitoba, made a contract with a syndicate, known as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, for the construction of a railroad from Montreal through Winnipeg to the Pacific coast.

Writing to his Commissary, the Rev. C. A. Jones, in February 1881, the Bishop said :

> An Act has just been passed by the Dominion Parliament by which the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway has been committed to a great financial company. There are 280 miles of railway branching out from Winnipeg in my Diocese, on which trains now regularly run. By July 1882, Winnipeg is to be connected with Lake Superior. By July 1884, Winnipeg is to have a line for 1000 miles west through fertile prairies for, you may say, the whole distance, or through vast coal regions, to the Rocky Mountains. The wheat grown in this country is the first in quality in America by, I believe, common consent. This will open up the largest extent of wheat land in America. There has never been such an opening to emigration. There is no doubt of the issue and of the future. The United States, to-day, has over fifty millions of people. There is just here in Manitoba and the North-West the beginning of another empire as great. It is beyond a question.

Winnipeg, which has now become the greatest railroad centre on the American continent, with perhaps the exception of Chicago, was in 1881 the centre of considerable railway construction both east and west, and had the certainty of being the centre of a vast amount more. The great prospects of the country, both from the extent and fertility of its arable land, and the comparative ease and quickness with which it could be reached, had been noised abroad. Manitoba wheat,

particularly, had aroused the attention of the world by its unsurpassed excellence, its famous "No. 1, Hard" wheat setting a standard or "grade" higher than any previously known. These attractions drew to Winnipeg in 1880, 1881, and 1882 a "strange concourse of speculators from all parts," as the Bishop described it in a letter of the time to the C.M.S., all intent on exploiting them to their own advantage. By the beginning of 1881 the Boom was developing; all through that year it went on growing in intensity, coming to a head in the winter of 1881-82, and continuing, though with ever-diminishing force, into the winter of 1882-83.

For a time a wild fever of speculation held the country in its grip; it chiefly raged round the prices of "lots," or plots of ground for building purposes, in Winnipeg and in the towns and villages that grew up, mushroom-like, almost in a night, along the railway tracks. "Lots" in Winnipeg, which, a year or two before, were practically unsaleable, or could have been sold for trifling sums only, changed hands for hundreds, then thousands, of dollars; in a less degree it was the same elsewhere. It so happened that 1881 was a "good year," with splendid weather and an abundant harvest. The Governor-General of the Dominion, then the Marquis of Lorne, now Duke of Argyll, and his wife, the Princess Louise, accompanied by a brilliant suite, paid a visit to Winnipeg, and well pleased with all they saw, the Governor-General spoke in glowing terms of the vast resources and magnificent prospects of Manitoba. Many visitors came to spy out the land, and carried away a favourable impression of it; not a few of them invested in lots and farms. In a word, everything conspired to help the Boom. Speculation

ran riot, men went mad, and prices soared higher and higher.

This state of things could not last long; it would not have lasted as long as it did last if it had been all speculation. The land, with its riches, was there in solid truth. The people who had come into the Canadian West were not all shrewd speculators, crazy gamblers, or transient visitors, for there was a large advance of settlement south and west of Winnipeg, and thousands of homesteads were taken up. The broad levels of the prairies on both sides of the railways, and for some distance back from them, were dotted over with tents, huts, or houses of farmers seeking and finding these new lands of promise. In 1882 the population of Winnipeg had grown to 20,000, and there were 80,000 people in the Province, while settlement was overflowing into the adjacent Territory of Assiniboia. What was the Church to do in face of this great opportunity—these new spiritual fields white to the harvest, needing husbandmen? was the question the Bishop asked. "What we most require is to be enabled to do most for ourselves. If 'Canada,' the S.P.G., the C.C.C.S., and the S.P.C.K. do what I ask, I think we shall be able for a year or two to occupy the chief settlements, and our people will build the necessary churches," he wrote. With the endorsement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had appealed for help to the Societies towards the close of 1880. He turned to Eastern Canada, and again pressed home, not without effect, the claim for assistance made by the people coming from it to settle in his Diocese.

In the beginning of 1881 he went by invitation to Montreal to attend a meeting of the central committee of the Church in Eastern Canada and place before it

the needs of Rupert's Land ; he stated at it that a contribution of $4000 (£800) a year would meet its most pressing wants, and the committee decided to assess the Dioceses of Eastern Canada for that amount ; he wished them to act as did the Presbyterian Church in similar circumstances—while voting the money, to assume the responsibility and send out the men, but this was not done, and in the end all that he received from "Canada" in that year was $860 (£172).

In the meantime the Boom had made some difference in the position of the affairs of the Church in Manitoba. The great rise in the value of land in and about Winnipeg had enabled the Bishop and the Executive Committee of the Diocese to sell portions of the glebe lands of the Cathedral, St. James's, and Headingley for considerable sums. The most valuable and extensive of these glebes, the Cathedral lands, which had been included within the limits of the City of Winnipeg by this time, produced an amount that enabled him to fill in some of the details of his plan for making St. John's a "real Cathedral," while the money realised from the sale of portions of the glebes of St. James's and Headingley provided an endowment which, in the case of the former, did away altogether with the necessity for its receiving assistance from the S.P.G., the Society which had supported it from the start, and, in the case of the latter, had the same effect with respect to the C.C.C.S. Thus grants which had been given to these two parishes were set free for helping missions elsewhere.

While the Boom lasted Winnipeg was very prosperous, and this condition was reflected in its leading church, Holy Trinity, to which was added a nave costing $5000 (£1000), and an organ for $4000 (£800) ;

this church also guaranteed at least $800 (£160) to the Home Mission Fund of the Diocese. Winnipeg then had two "English" churches—Holy Trinity and Christ Church, but it was apparent that more would be required, and a year or two later All Saints' and St. George's were established, the former west of Holy Trinity and the latter north of Christ Church. The enlargement of the boundaries of Winnipeg had brought St. James's earlier within the city limits.

This improvement in the state of things was confined almost wholly to Winnipeg, Headingley being the exception; this parish was immediately west of St. James's, and only a few miles from the city. In the country there was but one story of settlements being founded here, there, and everywhere, needing the quick founding of missions also. More little towns were springing up—one of them, Brandon, well to the west of Winnipeg, had a hundred buildings by the autumn of 1881, though it was not in existence at all in the spring of that year. Holy Trinity, Winnipeg, offered to take charge of a new mission, and the Bishop assigned Brandon to it. The grants which had been set free by the endowment of St. James's and Headingley provided part-stipends for a missionary in the new settlements in the Turtle Mountain district, and for another at Gladstone. On behalf of the Church in Eastern Canada, Mr. C. J. Brydges, the Treasurer of its Synod, authorised the Bishop to provide for two districts, and missionaries were stationed at Birtle and Pembina Crossing on the strength of this pledge. A clergyman was placed at Rapid City where a new church had been opened. St. James's Cathedral, Toronto, came forward with a grant in aid of any mission in Manitoba, and the Bishop gave it to a large

district with Beaconsfield as its centre. A mission was established at Morris, a small town between Winnipeg and Emerson, the latter a town on the American frontier a short distance from Pembina, and a missionary was placed in charge of it. Other missions were opened, most of which were served by the College-Cathedral staff. Wherever the supply of men and means permitted—sometimes when the means were not in hand—the Church occupied the new settlements. In 1880 the Bishop had under him twenty-three clergy and several licensed catechists; in 1881 he had thirty-two clergy and nine catechists and lay readers.

Addressing the Diocesan Synod held on November 23, 1881, the Bishop, as usual, considered the situation from all points of view, and then spoke of a new feature—the desire of the C.M.S. to withdraw from its old missions gradually, leaving such glebes as these missions possessed to the Church, to be administered as a trust for their benefit. Alluding to the Society, the Bishop said, "I think occasion should be taken by the Synod to express with no ordinary emphasis our sense of the infinite obligation which not only the Church of this land, but the land itself, lies under to the Church Missionary Society. Personally, I desire to bear affectionate testimony to the kindness, the consideration, and the regard for the episcopal office that have marked the dealings of the Society with myself. The successive Honorary Secretaries, Prebendary Venn, Prebendary Henry Wright, and now the Rev. Fred. Wigram, have been among our chief friends and helpers."

Referring to the Cathedral, the Bishop remarked that he hoped in the following year to appoint a Dean, as a sufficient income was in prospect from the sum

realised by the sale of the glebe of St. John's, and he trusted the appointment would relieve himself, for, as matters stood, the Bishop was reckoned as one of the clergy of the Cathedral, and as it often happened that, owing to the pressure of mission work, he was left to take duty on Sundays at St. John's, the appointment of a Dean would give him greater freedom for the pastoral work of the Diocese. Speaking of St. John's College, the Bishop said it was progressing satisfactorily, but the buildings were no longer suitable or adequate. Both St. Boniface College (1880) and Manitoba College (1881) had put up much better and more permanent buildings than they had previously possessed, and as St. John's needed the same an effort was being made to raise funds for a wing of a new College, towards which $20,000 (£4000) had been subscribed in Winnipeg and its immediate neighbourhood—about half the amount required, and the S.P.C.K. had voted, on certain conditions, a grant of £1000 ($5000) for the same object.

Concluding, the Bishop asked how they were to meet the ever-growing needs of the incoming population. First, he said, they must do the best with the resources the Diocese possessed, and for that purpose new mission regulations were to be put in force; second, the Diocese was to be divided into Rural Deaneries, so that the clergy in a specified district could meet in conference and take counsel together; third, use was to be made of earnest and godly men as lay readers, who were to be formally commissioned by the Bishop with a special Service. As regarded help for the work of the Church from outside the Diocese, he regretted to have to say that the S.P.G. had not been able to give an additional grant,

and the C.C.C.S. had slightly reduced their grant. The S.P.C.K., however, had come forward with invaluable assistance by voting a large block grant of £2000 ($10,000) for the building of churches. (The Society gave one-fifth of the cost of a church, when the cost was £500 ($2500) or less, and one-sixth when the cost was more than that sum.) But it was to the Church in Eastern Canada, the Bishop observed, that they "turned their longing eyes." He said :

> Will it rise to the occasion ? I have just read in the address of a Presbyterian minister the following reference to the action of the Presbyterian Church of Canada: "This year the estimates were made for about fifty missionaries and $16,000 (£3200). It would be easy to employ twice that number of men, and use double the amount of money, if we had it." We received from the Church of "Canada" $860 (£172), and we are employing one missionary, and looking out for another. Yet there are Churchmen in "Canada" who seem to doubt the wisdom and right of doing even this. It is too sad to comment on the matter. There is a great country rising up here. We would gladly take a large part in supplying it with the best gift—the unsearchable riches of Christ. If the means are not provided us for doing what we could wish, and what might be done, let us, at any rate, do what we can. It is a blessed thing to work for God, to lay out effort in any way in His service. We shall not be forgotten, and the harvest is sure.

For the greater part of the year 1882 the story, as regards the wildness of speculation, was much the same as for 1881 ; but by the beginning of the winter the top of the Boom had been passed, and as the winter progressed there were not wanting signs in the shrinking of the prices of lots, slow at first, then less slow, that the period of frenzied inflation was coming to an end. Settlement continued, however, on an increasing scale. A curious but significant indication of the

growth of the country was afforded in the summer of 1882, when more than eighty barristers and solicitors were added to the legal profession in Manitoba. Some of the new settlers took up land in the settlements that had been already formed, but the majority moved farther afield, while several of the older settlers sold their farms to new-comers and went westward. Early in the year the Bishop made a Visitation of the new settlements and missions as far as Rapid City, including the mission among the refugee Sioux (see p. 266), which had been established in 1879 under the charge of the Rev. W. A. Burman, a graduate of St. John's College. In the summer he held a Visitation of the missions in the neighbourhood of Lake Manitoba, including Indian missions, being accompanied on this occasion by Archdeacon Cowley, who spoke to the Red Men in their own tongue.

From the Church point of view the great event of the year was the development of the Bishop's plans for the Cathedral, now made possible by the sale of its glebe. The Bishop ceased to be Dean, and on April 12 a Dean and two Canons were installed. Canon Grisdale, having resigned the Professorship of Systematic Theology, was appointed Dean of Rupert's Land, that position being joined with the Professorship of Pastoral Theology, a new Chair which had been founded in St. John's College, and the general care of the theological students. Canon O'Meara succeeded the Dean as Professor of Systematic Theology. The Rev. W. C. Pinkham, who had resigned his parish of St. James's in 1881 because of the great increase of business connected with his office of Superintendent of Protestant Schools, but who had continued to assist in clerical work, and was Secretary of Synod, was

appointed Archdeacon of Manitoba, and therefore, under the Statutes of the Cathedral, became one of its Canons. The Rev. S. P. Matheson succeeded Canon O'Meara in the chair of Exegetical Theology, but was not installed as a Canon until some weeks later, owing to a delay caused by legal matters not having been finally adjusted. Preaching on the occasion of the installation of the Dean, Canon O'Meara, and Archdeacon Pinkham, the Bishop said :

> I have thought it well to take advantage of the installation of the Dean and two Canons to make a few observations on the place the Cathedral will fill in the Diocese ; and it is, perhaps, all the better that I should do this, as I can see, in the older Provinces of Canada, there is a tendency to look on the creation of a Cathedral system as simply an effort to bring in some of the dignities and titles of the old world that, taken by themselves, may seem, if not actually out of place, at any rate unneeded, in this new world of ours. But the work of the Cathedral is older than its dignities ; and it has been my care in this Diocese that the work should always exist before the name that has been associated with it, though I am conservative enough, when the work exists, to prefer to draw round it the memories and associations of the old name.

He then spoke of the place the Cathedral should hold in a Diocese, employing much the same terms and ideas he had used in setting forth his Cathedral system in 1874, when Mr. Grisdale, the Dean, had been installed as Canon (see pp. 247, 250). He announced that while funds were not yet at his command for building a suitable Cathedral edifice, nor for the holding of daily Services, still his plans had to a large extent been realised, as the proceeds of the sale of Cathedral land, together with the endowments already formed for the Professorships in the College,

now gave the means of having an effective staff—a Dean and four residentiary Canons—as well as of providing residences for them. The Dean and the four Canons would hold the Chairs of Pastoral Theology, Systematic Theology, Exegetical Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and Music respectively; he hoped to make an appointment to the last in a short time. The endowment of the Cathedral Chapter having now been secured, the next great effort at the centre of the Diocese was to be for the College, which needed a new building. He stated that Dean Grisdale was to proceed to England to try to raise an Endowment Fund for teachers in Arts, which also was necessary.

To assist Dean Grisdale, who left Winnipeg for London in the summer, the Bishop issued a circular, drawing attention at some length to the growth of Manitoba and the North-West, and the consequent needs of the Church. Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, was becoming a large place, wrote the Bishop, and was of great importance as a railway centre. East of it the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had built (1882) 450 miles of line to Port Arthur on Lake Superior, where connection was made with steamships on the Great Lakes for eastern points; and west of it the Company had constructed 450 miles of line across the prairies, and were still carrying the line westward at the rate of three miles a day. The line had gone beyond the boundary of Manitoba into Assiniboia, into which settlement was flowing to such an extent that it would be necessary to think very soon of providing a Bishop for that Territory. As regards Manitoba itself, fifty-two new municipalities had been formed, and in thirty-eight of them, embracing over 700 townships, each comprising 36 square miles, there

was no resident clergyman of the Church, while in several other municipalities, each with from twelve to forty townships, there was only one clergyman.

The Church was likely to suffer, the Bishop continued, unless it received material assistance. The Diocese did all it could for itself, but Winnipeg was the only place of any size that could help. The city, however, was growing rapidly, and its own local Church needs gave it enough to do. The Church in Rupert's Land, therefore, looked to England and to Eastern Canada. Except for a grant of £100 ($500) a year, for two years, he had been able to get no new grant from the S.P.G. since 1879. That Society had offered £3000 ($15,000), in sums of £500 to meet £1500, for the Clergy Endowment Fund of the Diocese. This, said the Bishop, was very good, but was not what the Church required at this crisis. The needs of the day were far too pressing to permit of endowment being taken up for the missions. Neither had the C.C.C.S. increased their grants since 1879. Eastern Canada was now doing better than in the past; but its aid was not given methodically, and therefore could not be reckoned on in their calculations. During that year (1882) the Church in Eastern Canada had sent them $2000 (£400), half of which had been contributed by one Diocese, that of Quebec. This was small when compared with what other Christian bodies in Eastern Canada were doing. To take one example, the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church, a small denomination, supported fifteen missionaries in the Diocese of Rupert's Land. The Church in England and the great Church Societies *must*, cried the Bishop, come to the help of the Diocese at this critical epoch in its history.

But there was not only the constant want of means; there was also the old want of men. It was difficult to get suitable men, able to adapt themselves easily to colonial life, from England; and it was hardly less difficult to get men from Eastern Canada, which, as was only natural, desired to retain its best for itself; and its second best would scarcely be likely to succeed in Manitoba. The solution of the difficulty lay in St. John's College, which had already trained and sent forth men fitted for the work of the country, and was training more and more men every year. So the Bishop renewed his appeal in this circular for the assistance of the College, pointing out also, at the same time, that it was doing a great work for the Church, not only in training theological students, but students in Arts and Science, who in the College were under the constant influence of the teaching and Services of the Church. The circular, a document typical of several addressed by the Bishop to the Church and Churchmen generally, set forth the position of the Church in Rupert's Land with a force and clearness that made any misunderstanding of it impossible. The Dean, however, met with no great success.

Towards the end of the year the Bishop, in a private letter to the S.P.G., again referred to the growth of the Territory of Assiniboia, mentioning that its capital, Regina, through which the railway passed, and which a few months earlier was so many acres of "bare prairie," had a population of 1000, and said once more that Assiniboia must have a Bishop for itself, as it was impossible for him to look after it properly. It had been hard to raise an endowment for the Bishopric of Saskatchewan, and it would be hard to raise an endowment for the Diocese of Assiniboia; but somehow

it had to be done. Alluding to himself and his work, the Bishop said: "I am upheld by the loving sympathy and affection of the whole Church, clergy and laity, and by the kind feeling of the whole community." He then mentioned that a token of this appreciation had just been given in the presentation to him of his portrait, painted by a prominent Canadian artist. It may be noticed that the portrait was presented, on behalf of the subscribers, to the Bishop by the Hon. John Norquay, the Premier of the Province of Manitoba, and an old St. John's College man, at a public meeting, there being present the Hon. J. Aikins, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and four members, present and past, of the Provincial Government, besides a large gathering of the principal clergy and laity of the Diocese, and of the leading people of the country of all denominations. The Bishop, while gratefully acknowledging the gift, spoke at considerable length of the position of the Church in the Diocese, and in the course of his remarks referred to a point which has not been touched on in this book, but may now appropriately be introduced. Alluding to the growth of the various funds for Church purposes in the Diocese, he said:

I would point out one reason why our funds have accumulated so sensibly as they have. In my own raising of money, even when in England, there has been no outlay, except an almost inappreciable expenditure in advertising and meetings, so that in fact the expenses of raising and managing I may be said to have paid myself. Further, when a friend, as the Dean at present, has raised any money for our objects, there has only been at the most a partial payment for travelling expenses. The place of our representative has been supplied by our staff here, and he has lived on his usual salary. We have never had any paid organisation for raising money outside of the Diocese.

Thus, though we have scarcely ever received any but small gifts, they have in our case accumulated. I think it well to say this, because our funds largely owe their existence to the willing labours of myself and the staff of our central institutions about me. I hope that this spirit of seeking to share in the common work will spread through the whole Church.

Gradually but surely in 1883 the Boom drew to its inevitable end. Many speculators, caught in their own net, as well as others who were not speculators, found they had on their hands properties which no one wished to buy at the inflated figures asked. As prices of lots could not be maintained, they fell slowly, and, after a time, rapidly, as is usual in such affairs. Still, for some months there was an extreme pressure of business in Winnipeg, and a great deal of building went on as soon as spring released the soil from the hold of winter. There was much bustle and stir, and no one anticipated such a total collapse of the Boom as eventually occurred. Meanwhile certain solid results had accrued to the Church from the Boom, though these results were not so great as was at first believed or hoped by the Bishop. The sale of the Cathedral lands had produced $100,000 (£20,000) for endowment, besides a considerable sum for residences for the Dean and Canons ; but much of this sum, which might be called the capital of the Cathedral, was afterwards proved by events to exist really on paper. The Cathedral lands, like other lands in Winnipeg, were sold for so much cash down, the payment of the balance, secured by mortgage on the properties in question, being spread over a term of years. In the result, many of these deferred payments were never met ; the mortgages in such cases had to be foreclosed, and in this way the capital of the Cathedral was greatly

reduced. It is true, on the other hand, that such lands came back to the Cathedral, but heavy taxes had to be paid upon them. However, this state of things did not actually come about till 1884 and later.

In January 1883 the Bishop made another Visitation in the west of his Diocese, as far as the Qu'Appelle Lakes. With the spring building operations proceeded vigorously on the wing of the new College, which was situated, also on St. John's land, about an eighth of a mile from the old. A large and fine stone church replaced the wooden building of Holy Trinity. In May there was a meeting of the Diocesan Synod, attended by twenty-eight clergy and thirty-four laymen; the Clergy List of the year showed there were forty-seven clergymen at work in the Diocese—a great advance on the previous year, which, in its turn, was an advance on 1881. Yet the Bishop, in his Address, had to admit that the Church was falling behind other bodies—he generally used this word when speaking of the other denominations—and said that the want of the settled ministrations of the Church in many of the new settlements constituted a grave state of affairs which must be faced. Erroneous and misleading estimates of the success of the country, of which the Boom was supposed to be an evidence, had made the situation still more grave by giving an impression, especially in Eastern Canada, that the Church in Manitoba was in a position to face it without much, if any, outside help. It was said that the Church had acquired a great deal of wealth from the sale of land, but the fact was that the glebes of only three parishes had been sold, and the proceeds of these sales were tied up to these parishes, though in the case of the Cathedral Statutes had been made by which the Cathedral income

was rendered as helpful as possible to the general work of the Diocese. The Diocese had never possessed any lands for general Church purposes, and had absolutely no funds from the sale of lands for missions in the new settlements. He had been at pains fully to supply correct information on these points to the press and to the Church in Eastern Canada, yet false stories were still being circulated of the wealth of his Diocese, and were brought to his notice, "almost officially, for furnishing grounds for want of sympathy and help" from Churchmen in Eastern Canada.[1]

The Bishop, while recognising the gravity of the situation, declined to take a gloomy view. There was a very great need of a considerable addition to the number of settled missionaries, but he hoped that the Church would gradually work up deficiencies. What would do more than anything to enable the Church to meet its needs would be the erection of Assiniboia into a Bishopric. Again, though the Church was weak in the immense outlying districts, it was strong at the centre, St. John's. The Cathedral and College staff formed a strong, compact organisation ; it was not a name, but a reality ; it was to be further strengthened by the addition of two more Canon-Professors during the summer. The Church was strong in Winnipeg, and in the chief centres of the Province of Manitoba. A most useful addition had been made in a foundation for a clergyman to be stationed in Winnipeg who was to be called the Chafyn-Grove missionary, from the name of the English lady contributing the munificent gift of £3000 ($15,000) as an endowment for him. His

[1] Two or three months before this Synod, the Bishop had received a letter from a Bishop in Eastern Canada, who wrote that he had been informed that the Church in Rupert's Land was "bloated with money from the Boom."

duty was to meet and advise immigrants in Winnipeg in particular, and in general to help in the mission work of the Diocese.

Still the staff at the centre could not fill the place of settled missionaries, who must be secured for the success of the Church. To systematise and increase their efforts among themselves for this object, the Bishop suggested the appointment of a Financial Secretary for the Diocese; he himself really had occupied that position, but it was not the function of a Bishop to "serve tables." Since the last Synod meeting five Rural Deaneries had been organised, and he hoped they would render effective help. Meanwhile a certain amount of assistance had come from outside. The C.C.C.S. had increased their grant by £100 ($500) a year. The S.P.G. had given a donation of £500 ($2500); this Society had already voted £3000 ($15,000) to the Clergy Endowment Fund, and since then the S.P.C.K. had set apart £4000 ($20,000) for the same purpose and on the same conditions, the effect of which was that the Fund received from the two Societies together £1000 ($5000) when a like sum was contributed to it by the Diocese or friends. At the moment the Bishop had in hand £500 ($2500), and he appealed to the laity to make up the balance so that the first thousand pounds could be claimed, and there would then be an addition of about $10,000 (£2000), thus bringing the total amount of the Fund to $21,000 (£4200), the income derived from which would be of the greatest assistance in supplying men for the missions. As it was, new missions were being or had been opened at Brandon, Minnedosa, Birtle, Rounthwaite, Russell, Mountain City, Grand Rapids, Regina, Qu'Appelle, Clearwater, the

Photo Steele and Co., Winnipeg.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, WINNIPEG.

Boyne, and Carberry. Much of this was a venture of faith.

He spoke of the College and of the wing which was being erected. Before the last Synod subscriptions amounting to $20,000 (£4000) had been received, but since then there had been little further done in this way, though $15,000 (£3000) more was required. He asked that the laity would put, as the "first great self-denying effort," the placing of the College on a self-supporting basis. He mentioned that the S.P.C.K. had made a grant of £500 ($2500) for theological studentships. The Bishop concluded his remarks by alluding to the recent deaths of some of the chief friends and supporters of his work—Archbishop Tait, Archdeacon Hunter, Dr. Forbes, who had been for some time Secretary of the C.C.C.S. and one of his Commissaries, Miss Caroline Hutton, the donor of £500 to the College and missions, and others who had passed away.

Whenever the Bishop asked the laity of the Diocese for their aid in money, they responded, it must be said, to the best of their ability; often he referred with affectionate pride to the noble way in which they supported his efforts for the missions and the College. But at this time, and for long afterwards, Winnipeg was practically the only place in the country where there was any number of people of means, and his appeal, therefore, was really addressed to them. Winnipeg, however, was still only a comparatively small city of about 25,000 population, the majority of whom did not belong to the Church, and it was even then beginning to feel the evil effects of the collapsing Boom. During the autumn the wing of the College was completed, but with borrowed money; further subscriptions did not come in to any extent, and difficulty was experienced

in collecting those that had been promised in good faith when the Boom was at its height; so a debt accumulated on the College which was very hurtful to it, and long weighed on the Bishop with a heavy and almost paralysing constraint. Not anticipating this, the Bishop took a good deal of pleasure in the building as it was being constructed, and in showing it to visitors that summer, amongst whom were Mr. Archibald, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and his old friend Mr. Williams-Ellis, who had left Sidney College, Cambridge, and had become Rector of Gayton, Northamptonshire. Of this visit Mr. Williams-Ellis contributes the following account, which, incidentally, gives a glimpse of the Bishop's life at this time and some further indications of his personality:

About twenty-five years ago I determined to go over and see my dear friend in his home on the Red River. I went up through the Lakes and took the train from Port Arthur on Lake Superior for Winnipeg. The line had just been constructed. We crossed the "trestle-bridges" over rivers and lakes very, very slowly, the piles under us trembling in the water. I was kindly given a seat in the private car of Mr. (now Sir William) Van Horne, the General Manager of the C.P.R., so that I could see down the line. We arrived late at Winnipeg, and missed the Bishop's buggy. My driver did not know the way, and we were lost in a wood close to Bishop's Court when the Bishop found us.

I preached in his Cathedral of St. John's. I remember in the vestry the Bishop gave me a great thwack on the back, whether of approval or the reverse, I do not know. He showed me St. John's School, St. John's College, and the Ladies' College; we were especially interested in the last, as we had often talked of my cousin, Miss Annie Clough, and her work at Newnham. One day we went to call on Mgr. Taché, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, who was very friendly with Machray. He showed us in his dining-room a huge picture of

Queen Victoria, and said he had removed the Pope to make room for it, as he heard that the Marquis of Lorne, the Queen's son-in-law, was coming to see him. The picture had been painted for him in twenty-four hours!

Another day we went out to Portage la Prairie, sixty miles west of Winnipeg, to see something of the prairies. We got exceedingly hungry, and called at the clergyman's house, where there was a strong aroma of food and rattling of plates. The mistress came bustling in. She gave us an invitation to the feast, but, seemingly, with perhaps a hope that we would not accept—possibly there were already too many guests or too little food. The too-sensitive Bishop looked towards me in doubt, and I tried by my aspect to give him confidence to say "Yes." It ended by our getting no dinner. We tried one or two fly-crowded and unsavoury eating-houses, and finished up by sitting on a doorstep and eating some mouldy biscuits!

Two additions were made to the College-Cathedral staff in 1883. The Bishop, having resigned the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, the greater part of the endowment of which had been given by himself, appointed the writer, then B.A. of Cambridge (Sidney College), to the Professorship and attached Canonry, and the Rev. G. F. Coombes, M.A., a Cambridge Johnian (now Dean of Rupert's Land), was made Professor of Music, and Canon and Precentor of the Cathedral. Both Canons Machray and Coombes, besides their Professorial and Cathedral work, assisted in the College and College School, and in the missions generally whenever their services were required.

In the course of the summer the Bishop made an extended Visitation in the west of his Diocese, including the mission at Touchwood Hills in the Territory of Assiniboia—the immense district for which he wanted a new Bishop, a desire soon fulfilled, as will be narrated in the next chapter. Before passing to it mention must

be made of a matter that greatly delighted the Bishop, though, strictly speaking, it concerned the Church only indirectly. This was that the University of Manitoba received in 1883 an intimation that under the will of the late Dr. Isbister, Head Master of the Stationers' School and Editor of the *Educational Times* of London, it had been given a bequest of £14,000 ($70,000) as an endowment to provide scholarships for meritorious students. Dr. Isbister was a native of the old Red River Settlement, and was educated at St. John's College in the early days of Bishop Anderson. As far back as 1867 he had founded an endowment, placed in the Bishop's hands, for prizes to be given at open examinations for scholars of the common schools of Red River conducted at centres by St. John's College. He had always taken a warm interest in the progress and development of the great North-West, and no more thoughtful and helpful contribution to its best interests could have been made than this magnificent bequest to its young University.

CHAPTER XV

REACTION AND DEPRESSION

1883–1887

THOUGH the inevitable reaction after the inflation of the "Winnipeg Boom," and the resultant depression blighting both the country and the Church, are the chief features of the period of about four years now to be presented, yet the late summer of 1883 was rendered memorable by a further extension of the Church in Rupert's Land. Not only was the Bishopric of Assiniboia definitely formed, according to the desire of Bishop Machray—the fifth See taken out of the original Diocese, but a division of the Bishopric of Athabasca added a sixth See to the Provincial system, and there was something more than a hint of the establishment within a short time of a seventh—Alberta. Under date March 15, 1883, the Dominion Government issued a map showing the boundaries of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, as they had been defined a year or two previously by the Parliament of Canada, and the Provincial Synod—the third since the formation of the Ecclesiastical Province—rearranged the boundaries of the Dioceses, both old and new, to correspond with the lines ruled on the map by the civil authorities. This important Synod assembled at St. John's, Winnipeg, on August 8 and 9, 1883.

The Territory or "District," as it was officially termed at that period, of Assiniboia stretched westward of Manitoba for some two hundred miles, its farther frontier being the District of Alberta; Assiniboia has since been merged with the District of Saskatchewan, the two forming one Province of the Dominion under the name of Saskatchewan; as a geographical designation it has disappeared, like the earlier Assiniboia of the old Red River days. The greater part of it was in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, the smaller in the Diocese of Saskatchewan, as they were then constituted. Before he had begun to move actively in the matter, Bishop Machray had had in his mind the desirability of forming it into a separate Bishopric, but on communicating his views to his old friend and comrade, Dr. M'Lean, the Bishop of Saskatchewan, he was greatly disappointed to find an unsympathetic response. On this and other grounds there was for awhile a good deal of friction between the two Bishops.

Bishop M'Lean, it appeared, was ambitious of having his Diocese created an independent Ecclesiastical Province, and had even taken some steps to this end. Bishop Machray thought the project, if carried out, could only result in weakening the position of the whole Church in North-West Canada, and he therefore strenuously opposed it, arguing that while the North-West was a truly great country, which by and by might advantageously have more than one Ecclesiastical Province within it, the time for the consideration of such a change had certainly not arrived; on the contrary, the existing circumstances of the Church called imperatively for unity, combined effort, and a gathering up and holding together of all their strength. Bishop Machray consequently looked forward to the meeting of the

Provincial Synod with some foreboding, but a few days before it assembled the two Bishops met and discussed their differences of opinion, the issue being that Bishop M'Lean abandoned his opposition, and fell into line completely with the Metropolitan. So thorough was his acquiescence in Bishop Machray's views that in a sermon preached at the opening of the Synod Dr. M'Lean took as his subject the need of unity within the Province.

When the Synod, after Divine Service in St. John's Cathedral, met in the College for the transaction of business, Bishop Machray, as Metropolitan, delivered an Address in which he referred to the new Dioceses which he hoped the Synod would form; the one was Assiniboia, the other was to be made by a division of the See of Athabasca at the request of Bishop Bompas. With respect to the former he said, "An active Bishop will be the best means of strengthening the Church, and finding the necessary money and men for the needed missions"; as regarded the latter, Archdeacon M'Donald, the veteran missionary of the North, had been sent to the Synod as the representative of Bishop Bompas in support of his proposal, which, the Metropolitan stated, was worthy of every encouragement. The C.M.S. were anxious to assist Bishop Bompas in carrying out his plans, and would provide an income for the new Bishop in Athabasca.

In his Address the Metropolitan spoke of a Bishop in connection with the projected Diocese of Assiniboia, but said nothing with respect to the means of supporting him. In the course of his remarks, however, he said, "We have heard with no small interest and sympathy that the story of our growing spiritual needs in the vast expanse of country receiving immigrants has led the

Hon. and Rev. Canon Anson, Rector of Woolwich, to give up his valuable and important living, and dedicate himself to the mission work of the Church in the North-West." At the moment there was no further reference to Canon Anson's action, but it was hardly possible for any one to fail to understand that the mention of his name in close connection with the formation of the Diocese of Assiniboia, as it was in the Metropolitan's Address, was of special significance.

A matter which had come before the previous Provincial Synod — the respective boundaries of the Diocese of Columbia (British Columbia) and the Diocese of Athabasca—was another important topic of the Address. The question was whether a part of the Diocese of Athabasca lying within the Civil Province of British Columbia was not really a part of the Diocese of Columbia. Bishop Machray pointed out that the part in dispute had been considered as being in Athabasca by the Hudson's Bay Company, and that it had been visited by Rupert's Land missionaries. It was only after Canada had transferred the district to British Columbia, owing to expected mining operations and the supposed inability of the Company's officers to deal with disturbances, that any doubt had arisen as to its being in the Diocese of Athabasca. "We cannot be expected, for such a reason," said the Metropolitan, "to change our ecclesiastical arrangements"—and so dismissed the subject.

Resolutions were passed unanimously by the House of Bishops and the House of Delegates by which the Diocese of Assiniboia was set off from Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan, a general "rectification of the frontiers," as diplomatists would have termed it, being made with respect to Rupert's Land, Saskatchewan,

and Athabasca. "Rupert's Land" was restricted to Manitoba and part of Ontario and the District of Keewatin; "Saskatchewan" included the District of that name and the District of Alberta; "Athabasca" coincided with the District of the same name; and "Assiniboia" was conterminous with the civil limits of that District. The Lower House, however, suggested that Alberta should be erected into a separate See as soon as possible. The chief loser (in a sense) by these changes was the Diocese of Rupert's Land, as it gave up a large western area to Assiniboia and a portion of its north-west to Saskatchewan. At the instance of Archdeacon M'Donald the two Houses agreed to the division of Athabasca, according to the desire of Bishop Bompas—the parent See being provisionally apportioned between "Northern" and "Southern" Athabasca, named afterwards "Mackenzie River" and "Athabasca" respectively.

Rupert's Land, as an Ecclesiastical Province, was now divided into six Dioceses:

Rupert's Land = Manitoba, parts of Keewatin and Ontario.

Moosonee = The region around Hudson's Bay and part of Keewatin.

Saskatchewan = Districts of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Northern Athabasca = The region afterwards called the Diocese of Mackenzie River.

Assiniboia = District of Assiniboia (afterwards the Diocese was called Qu'Appelle).

Southern Athabasca = The region afterwards called the Diocese of Athabasca.

Apart from the formation of the new Dioceses the only other matter of primary importance before the

Synod was a motion, passed by both Houses, appointing a committee to consider a revision of the Constitution of the Province and its Canons, and the establishment of a General Board of Missions—the committee to report fully, after consultation with the Bishops, at a special meeting of the Provincial Synod to be summoned by the Metropolitan during 1884.

Meanwhile Canon Anson had arrived in the country, and Bishop Machray, after the Synod, appointed him his Commissary for Assiniboia, which had been left in his episcopal charge. Canon Anson visited several of the centres of settlement in the new Diocese, and then returned to England to raise an endowment for the See and to procure clergy for it. He met with such success, that with the funds actually subscribed and an annual grant from the S.P.G., the way was opened for his Consecration should he accept the Bishopric. At this time he had the offer of the Bishopric of Central Africa, but decided to take Assiniboia. On June 24, 1884, he was consecrated in Lambeth Church, London, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson), the Bishops of London (Dr. Jackson), St. Albans (Dr. Claughton), Rochester (Dr. Thorold), Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan), and other Bishops, amongst them being the Bishop of Saskatchewan, who preached the sermon on the occasion. With Bishop Anson was consecrated Bishop Hannington—so soon to lay down his life for the Church in Central Africa.

Bishop Anson was a High Churchman, and his Church views, therefore, were not those of Bishop Machray, but the latter was deeply sensible that Dr. Anson's splendid act of self-devotion—one of the many romances of missions—in giving up Woolwich for mission work in the North-West at this critical

time, and his capability in many directions to cope with the problems of a new Diocese, indicated that his appointment to Assiniboia was most fitting and opportune. Bishop Machray, it should be added, had no objection to a moderate High Churchman in his own Diocese, which was almost wholly Evangelical; the Bishop's Evangelicism was of the Church-Conservative type, and in no way bigoted. Writing about this time to his London Commissary, Mr. Jones of Westminster School, with regard to the kind of men he wished for his missions, he said: "I do not in the least object to a moderate High Churchman who is a good worker, but should be glad to have him if (1) loyal to the Church as Reformed, that is, if willing to conform to our ritual, and not a man who would introduce the modern innovations of bowings, crossings, etc.—I believe, apart from my dislike of these ways theologically, that they would be fatal practically to the Church here; and if (2) prepared willingly to take a kind and cordial position with other Protestant bodies though working separately."

In the course of the same letter the Bishop explained further what he meant by the last three words of the preceding paragraph—"though working separately." He wrote:

> I wish men who are loyal to the Church, yet possess breadth of view for fellow-Christians. I wish men who consider the ways of the Church the best; who, except for intercessory prayer in visiting families or the sick, usually prefer the Church form of prayer; who will work simply with their brethren, and not go in with Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist with joint prayer-meetings and other spiritual exercises. "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." I have become perfectly convinced that members of our liturgical Church cannot in the present divided state of the Catholic

Church use their full liberty. Such fraternising leads almost with certainty to a loss of loyalty on the part of some members of the Church.

On the other hand, I want men who, while not afraid of speaking of their own Church as the Church—thereby affirming their presence in the Catholic Church—do not unchurch others, but allow them, if they like, to make the same claim—do not refer to Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., as outside the Catholic Church—who will behave in a brotherly and friendly spirit to the ministers and members of other bodies—in fact, do all but work with them.

As had been resolved at the third Provincial Synod, a special meeting of the Provincial Synod was held in 1884. This Synod lasted for three days—October 1, 2, and 3. Bishop Machray preached the opening sermon, and took advantage of the opportunity to make a historical review of the Church in Rupert's Land, saying, amongst other things :

When I think of this country as I found it nineteen years ago, and then allow its chief city, and towns, and settlements, and institutions to pass before my mind, it seems as if there had passed over the scene the stroke of a fairy wand—so wonderful is the transformation. Yet the great material progress of the country was doubtless to be anticipated as soon as the onward advance of settlement had made it possible. There was the fairest heritage in a soil unsurpassed in fertility and a climate most healthy and inspiriting. But the growth of the Church has well kept up with the progress of the country; indeed, it is still more striking. I confess that, conscious as I am of the small resources of Churchmen in the country in the past and present, all of them starting into life with many outlays and anxieties, and conscious, further, of the want of men of large means outside of the country personally interested in it and anxious for the establishment of the Church, I sometimes seem to myself to be dreaming when I look over the vast region that was once under my sole episcopal charge, and find

in it six Bishoprics and nearly one hundred clergy; or, confining my attention to what still forms the Diocese of Rupert's Land, I see central institutions for diocesan and educational purposes so well organised and established that a comparatively small sum could now make them most stable and effective.

He specially referred, with some fulness, to the obligations under which the Province lay to the great English Church Societies, without whose assistance the progress of the Church in the country would have been, and would be for years to come, impossible. First of all, the Church owed a great debt to the C.M.S., the work of which had "been in so many ways an untold blessing to this land. The benefits of that work have been far from confined to the Indians, but it is for their sake that it has been carried on. Often has that work stood out before me, coming home to me as a work from above and not springing from human policy." Since the opening up of the country by immigration, the S.P.G. had come forward "in the most generous and sympathising manner, and with surpassing kindness and consideration." The S.P.C.K. had also helped "largely and generously. . . . It has not allowed itself to be tied by precedents." The C.C.C.S., too, had also given invaluable assistance. The Church in the Province of Canada had from time to time afforded welcome help.

The clergy in the Province still depended in great measure on the subsidies given by the Societies; only in Winnipeg were there self-supporting churches, though there were two or three other towns in Manitoba which might be expected to support their clergy before long. Outside Winnipeg there was scarcely a clergyman, certainly not more than two or three, whose salary was not dependent on funds from England to

the extent of at least one-half. And this being the case, said the Bishop, they must treasure the words of his predecessor, Bishop Anderson, and act upon them : "England must still be regarded by us as the heart and centre of life, from which the blood circulates to the most distant parts of the body. Our wisdom would be to keep up a lively intercourse with the Church whence we are sent forth ; not to labour independently of her, not to frame a code of laws for our regulation differing from those which are in force at home, but rather to adapt, as much as may be, our own internal government to that which the wisdom of our forefathers devised and the experience of ages sanctioned." The Bishop remarked that it was on this principle that the original Constitution of the Province had been drawn up, and personally he could not recognise any such change in their circumstances as made any other principle wise or right. At the same time, he had the fullest confidence that the day would come when the Church as a whole would be self-supporting.

A draft Constitution had been prepared by the Committee appointed at the Provincial Synod of 1883, and when its provisions came to be considered by the two Houses the only very important difference between them arose over the appointment of the Bishops of the Province. Generally speaking, the Lower House desired that the Bishops should not be appointed by England as represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but by the Provincial Synod in the case of Dioceses which had not ten clergymen supported by endowments or by congregations, or by the Diocesan Synod in the case of a Diocese which had that number of such clergymen. The attitude of the Upper House

was that foreshadowed by Bishop Machray in the course of his sermon ; the Church in Rupert's Land was dependent on support from England. The view of the Bishops was thus expressed : "In case of a vacancy in the Episcopate in any Diocese of the Province not specially provided for, the selection of a Bishop should rest with the Archbishop of Canterbury, unless and until there were twelve clergymen in the given Diocese supported by endowment or by congregations, when the Bishop was to be elected by the Diocesan Synod, subject to confirmation by the Metropolitan and two other Bishops of the Province." After much discussion in the Lower House and conferences between the two Houses, it was finally agreed to accept the view of the Bishops, who, however, added, as a concession to the feeling shown by the Lower House, the words "after consultation with the Metropolitan and such Bishops of the Province as can be conveniently communicated with" immediately subsequent to the words "Archbishop of Canterbury" in the above sentence (see p. 259, Constitution, 6).

With respect to the northern boundary of the new Diocese, provisionally known as Southern Athabasca, the Synod decided to accept the circle of latitude passing through Fort Smith, and, as Bishop Bompas had resigned the title of Bishop of Athabasca, to style the new See Athabasca, and to leave the name of the northern portion of the parent See to the Metropolitan and Bishop Bompas, who ultimately called it Mackenzie River. This sixth See of the Province, Athabasca, received its Bishop in the Rev. Richard Young, the Incumbent of St. Andrew's in the Diocese of Rupert's Land (see p. 251). After being given the degree of D.D., *honoris causa*, by St. John's, he was consecrated at

Winnipeg on October 18, 1884, the officiating prelates being the Bishops of Rupert's Land, Saskatchewan, and Assiniboia — the first Consecration of a Bishop held in the Canadian North-West. The appointment had lain with the C.M.S., and they gave it to Dr. Young, whom Bishop Machray described as "a godly, loving, and sound pastor," one of their missionaries.

With these encouraging evidences of the growth of the Church under him, a spirit of hopefulness and of optimism appeared in Bishop Machray when he met his Diocesan Synod which assembled on October 29, but he was compelled to admit that both Church and country were suffering from the effects of the Boom. In his Address he said :

> When the Synod last met, the shadows of the reaction from the undue and unhealthy speculation of the previous year or two were already closing round us. Since then the country has passed through a period of serious trial for many. There has been nothing to create the slightest doubt as to the ultimate prosperity of the country. The causes of the depression are very simple and temporary. Still their effect has been very real and injurious. They have hampered us in the sustaining and extension of our Church work. Many individuals have been embarrassed. And as the immigration for the past two years has passed mainly beyond Manitoba, it is questionable whether in many cases our missions are not for the moment weaker instead of stronger. As a result of these combined influences several of our parishes are weighed down by obligations undertaken under different prospects. And where this is not the case, there has often been much difficulty in raising the salary of the clergyman.
>
> Under these circumstances I think there is much cause for thankfulness for the very considerable progress that has been made. Services continue to be held in almost all former places, though there are not at present clergymen at Headingley and Morris. The following new mission districts have been

Photo Glanville, Tunbridge Wells.

BISHOP YOUNG.

Photo Elliott and Fry, London.

BISHOP ANSON.

Photo Mrs. R. E. Carr, Winnipeg.

BISHOP PINKHAM

supplied with resident clergymen :— The Boyne, Turtle Mountain, Gladstone, Rat Portage, Rowan, Souris, Shoal Lake, Clearwater, Beaconsfield, Manitou, and Alexander. Two new parishes have been formed in Winnipeg—All Saints' and St. George's. Means have been provided for appointing a clergyman at Wakopa through the generosity of Mr J. C. Sharpe of London. I hope we may be able shortly to form another mission district to include Virden. . . . There are now within our reduced Diocese over fifty ordained clergy holding my licence. I doubt if there are as many ministers of any other body. There are also a number of laymen licensed by me under our Canon, some of whom have Services very regularly. . . . New churches have been consecrated or opened at Sunnyside and Westbourne ; in All Saints' and Holy Trinity parishes, Winnipeg ; and at Clanwilliam and Souris. Churches are either finished or nearly so at Rounthwaite, Birtle, Shoal Lake, and in St. George's, Winnipeg.

The Bishop stated that the Societies had responded to his appeal for funds—the S.P.G. had added a considerable sum to its annual grant to the Diocese, and had twice given a special grant of £500 ($2500), and the C.C.C.S. had increased its grant by £100 ($500). With the aid of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. the General Endowment Fund had been raised from $13,000 (£2600) to $23,000 (£4600). On the other hand, contributions within the Diocese had fallen off owing to the local financial depression, though the Diocese had raised about $40,000 (£8000) for Church objects in the past year. In one way or another the invested funds had grown until they now aggregated $350,000 (£70,000) ; to deal with investments for these funds or "trusts" the Bishop had formed an Advisory Board, and in the next year he proposed to place all the accounts of the trusts with this Board.

It was with respect to St. John's College that the

evil effects of the Boom were mainly seen. To quote from the Address :

Since last Synod the new building of St. John's College has been erected. With the general structure we are well satisfied, but the heating, draining, and plumbing have given us a good deal of trouble, and seem likely to cause both trouble and expense. We have felt severely the pressure of the times. There has always been more or less a burden of debt from our growth requiring from time to time additions to our buildings for which we had no funds. This debt was reduced a few years ago, but the erection of the house for the Deputy Head Master, and of additional rooms for Matron and Hospital, again raised it to about $17,000. Then a double brick house for two masters cost $10,500. The erection of the new College, many additional expenses attending this, the interest on the debt, and an additional cost from occupying the new buildings in fuel, service, and the other expenses of a double establishment, which we have reckoned at $4000, have raised the debt to $55,000 (£11,000). We did not see our way clear, in face of the commercial depression and difficulties of the past two years, to ask for further subscriptions, though many of the leading Churchmen of the Diocese have not contributed, while about $12,000 (£2400) of the subscriptions promised have either not been paid or paid in land of which we cannot advantageously dispose.

It was this heavy debt on the College that long weighed on the Bishop ; in 1884 he was sanguine that it would be removed in a comparatively short time, owing to the expected rapid recovery of the country, but in this hope he was disappointed, for the country did not recover so soon as he anticipated. In addition to the debt on the College there was also a growing debt on the Ladies' College, and that, too, cramped him sorely.

This Diocesan Synod had not much business before it ; perhaps the most important thing it did was to

appoint a committee, to be named by the Bishop, to consider the best means of retaining permanently the Diocese of Rupert's Land as the Metropolitical See of the Province. The question had been introduced by the Bishop in some touching words, for it was a subject on which he felt very deeply:

> It has always been an object very dear to my heart that this See, which has been the Mother See of this land, should, according to all the traditions of the Primitive Church, be the Metropolitical See of the Province. And the labour I have given for the establishment of our institutions, which an additional sum, by no means very large, could now, I believe, make as complete as any in the Colonial Church, has been with a view of a larger usefulness than merely for a Bishopric of Winnipeg, or of a district of Manitoba, for to this it will otherwise come. It has, therefore, been a disappointment to me to observe a tendency, for reasons that do not approve themselves to me, to accept this limited sphere, and so practically cast away the Bishopric of Rupert's Land with the advantages that might make this Bishopric the choicest as well as the chief See of the Province. . . .
>
> As far as I am concerned in this matter, I may say, once for all, that I cannot forget that I am Bishop of Rupert's Land in the full meaning of that expression, and am, therefore, equally anxious for the well-being and best interests of the whole Province and of this Diocese. For many a day it seems to me that there will be serious disadvantages if the Metropolitan be not the Bishop resident in this city. I trust, then, that the subject may, in the next year or two, receive the earnest consideration of the clergy and laity of the Diocese, in the hope that some scheme may be adopted for the appointment of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, by which the Diocese may be satisfied that it is likely to get a worthy Bishop, and the Province that it will get a suitable Metropolitan.

The depression grew deeper and deeper during the winter of 1884-85; the spring of 1885 saw no

improvement, but the reverse. Riel, who had been the leader of the Métis rebels in Red River in 1869-1870 (see Chapters IX. and X.), headed another insurrection of his French half-breed compatriots, its theatre, on this occasion, being the valley of the Saskatchewan. On March 19, 1885, Riel and a body of armed rebels established themselves at Batoche's Crossing, fifty miles from Prince Albert, where Bishop M'Lean had his headquarters. Several of the heathen Indian tribes rose—none of the Christian Indians joined them; for some time the situation in the Saskatchewan was dark and terrible. Canada quickly took action, troops were organised and rushed to the front, and after a few months the rebellion was suppressed and Riel captured and hanged. Volunteers from Manitoba went to the scene of the fighting, and took their share in it, but the rising did not affect that Province directly, though indirectly it was damaging to it, as business was checked and immigration came practically to a standstill. In this way it affected the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and made the hard times after the Boom harder still.

As has been seen, the Bishop was always pressed by the want of means to keep his missions going in the new settlements; however much help he got from England or elsewhere it was never enough, for there were always more settlements springing up and wanting clergymen. A large part of the assistance came from the contributions of his own people to the Home Mission Fund; now, for the first time, so great was the pressure of circumstances, their contributions fell off, and the Fund had to be overdrawn. By the close of this year, 1885, all the cash at the Bishop's disposal was exhausted; there had been no

improvement during the summer, and a frost in August spoiled the crops. The debts on the College and Ladies' College increased, and now the Mission Fund was in debt! In December the financial position of the Diocese was so serious that the Bishop wrote: "I feel sometimes so burdened with the financial care of our institutions and the Diocese, and so disheartened by the unfavourable turn so many different things have taken, that I hardly know what to do. I have lived for this Diocese very completely, but the crisis is such that unless things take a turn in the coming season, the Diocese must have in its Head not only the will but the power to help it."

It was during this distressing time, when the Bishop was putting all his powers, as well as every dollar he himself possessed, into a determined effort to keep the Diocese and its institutions from falling behind, that the attacks mentioned in a preceding chapter (see p. 249) reached their height. The Bishop replied fully in his Address to the Diocesan Synod which met on October 28 and 29, 1885, at St. John's. The exaggerations of the Boom or, rather, of "Boomsters," had given rise in Eastern Canada, and even apparently in England in some quarters, to an impression, which was thoroughly erroneous, that the Diocese possessed large endowments which might have been available for its missions but had been diverted to education. A writer, signing himself "Inquirer," in the London *Guardian*,[1] began a number of questions about the Diocese by asking, "Is not the Diocese of Rupert's Land the richest and best-endowed Diocese in

[1] The *Guardian*, June 3, 1885. The Bishop replied at length in the *Guardian*, September 2, 1885. "Inquirer" was also answered by Archdeacon Pinkham and Canon Coombes, in other issues.

Canada?" There was even an idea that the Bishop had lavished money on a fine Cathedral. In his reply the Bishop said:

I have long been aware of a very false view on this subject being current in Eastern Canada, the result of statements that were sent there in the time of the Boom. The exaggeration of some of them almost exceeds belief. Shortly before the presentation of my portrait in 1882, I received a letter from one of the Canadian Bishops, in which he remonstrated with me for having spent a large sum of money in building a splendid Cathedral instead of giving it to the missions. To those who know the little, plain Cathedral, built by my predecessor, the absurdity of this is amusing. In my reply on the presentation of the portrait I entered into a full explanation of such invested funds as we had, and of their origin, but though the explanation was widely disseminated through the kindness of the Church papers in Canada, the impression continues. Within the last few weeks I observed that a missionary in the Diocese of Algoma (Eastern Canada) thought he could not better strengthen his case in appealing to the Church people of Eastern Canada than by remarking that they had no Cathedral.

After a plain recital of the actual facts of the case regarding the endowments connected with the Cathedral and College—they have been set forth sufficiently in this biography, and need not be repeated—and how prospects had shrunk away because of the collapse of the Boom, he continued:

The misconception in Canada has been very painful to me, and as I have a strong conviction that it has in part originated in idle gossip and thoughtless talk within the Diocese, I hope that in the future clergy and laity will, when they have opportunity, disabuse any one of a wrong impression. I take indeed a deep interest in education. I feel that a sound and religious education lies at the root of all true progress, and it certainly has been a pleasure to me that my efforts for education have

been so far recognised in the Province (of Manitoba), that I am filling the offices of Chancellor of the University and Chairman of the Protestant Board of Education, but it is perfectly the opposite of the truth that I have sacrificed for education any mission interests. I believe the Cathedral and College system of St. John's have been the salvation of the country. . . . Whatever may be the imperfections of my own service, I can say that since I was appointed to my present office I have simply lived for the good of the Diocese, and my work would indeed be a labour of love if it were brought home to my heart that I had the affectionate support of the members of the Church for its institutions and efforts.

With the Bishop's consent the Synod appointed a committee to inquire into the financial position of St. John's College, the incomes of the Professors, their work, the numbers of students, and other cognate matters. The Bishop was only too glad that there should be the fullest inquiry. At the next meeting of the Diocesan Synod, which was held on August 5 and 6, 1886, the committee presented its Report. This Report, an exhaustive document, went fully into the history of both Cathedral and College, giving the sources of their respective endowments, and the existing position of all their various funds. It now appeared that the Cathedral, as represented by the Dean and Chapter, and the College as represented by the Professors, who were also the members of the capitular body, *i.e.*, the Dean and Chapter, drew their incomes from an active endowment capital of $131,856 (about £26,400), and that the average income for each Canon-Professor was about $1700 (£340) a year, as the capital yielded between 6 and 7 per cent. If there was any notion in the Diocese or elsewhere that the Canon-Professors were receiving magnificent stipends, this Report effectually dissipated it.

There was a General Endowment Fund for the College, the Report went on to state, of $22,000 (£4400), and a Scholarships Fund of $6695 (£1340). There were also certain lands belonging to the Cathedral and the College that would ultimately be of value, but for the time were a source of expense as taxes had to be paid on them. The general debt on the College, incurred in erecting buildings, amounted to $60,900 (£12,200). The Report closed with an appreciation of what the Bishop personally, out of his own pocket, had done—not only had he lent to the College (for the debt) part of the episcopal endowment at 4 per cent. when he might have had 7 for it in the ordinary course of investment, but he had given considerable sums to the College, both to its General Endowment and to the Professorships, especially the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, and for scholarships, and other sums to the Ladies' College, the total reaching a very large sum.

In his Address to this Synod, the Bishop said that the position of the College, owing to the heavy debt upon it, was so critical that he felt he must visit England to raise funds for it. Reviewing the state of the country, he deplored that the depression consequent on the disastrous Boom still continued. At the previous Synod he had mentioned that ten new missions ought to be opened, but could not be because of the want of means; he regretted that things remained much in the same condition. But the Home Mission Fund was no longer in debt. Archdeacon Pinkham, the Secretary of the Synod, had made two successful visits to Eastern Canada, and had raised over $3000 for the Fund. The S.P.G. had also helped splendidly with grants, as had the other

Societies. More money, however, was required; more men were needed—there was the old difficulty in obtaining suitable men.

As the Synod had now become incorporated by the Legislature, the Bishop passed into its keeping nearly all the Church endowments or "trusts" which had been hitherto centred in him, the exceptions being the Cathedral and College endowments, which were handed over to the Dean and Chapter and the College respectively, the episcopal endowment and one or two other trusts, such as the endowment for the "Machray Exhibitions," which the Bishop went on "nursing" himself. Referring to this transfer of these trusts, he said he "was glad to be relieved of what had been a very heavy burden." From the business point of view, the Bishop's management of the various Church funds had been singularly successful—to such a degree had it been successful that he was universally regarded as so excellent a man of business that his advice was frequently sought on matters outside his sphere altogether, and he was asked to become an executor or a trustee under wills—as if he had not cares enough !—because of his financial shrewdness and ability; eventually, he was compelled to make a rule not to act as executor or trustee.

Shortly after the Synod the Bishop left Winnipeg for London, with the hope and intention of raising a sum sufficient to bring up the General Endowment Fund of the College to £10,000 or $50,000. What was required was about £5600, as £4400 was in hand. Towards this the S.P.C.K. had promised £1000, provided the total amount raised was £9000; thus the amount the Bishop had to get was £4600. Apart from some brief visits to his friends and relatives,

he devoted some nine months to this effort—writing letters, seeing prominent Churchmen, and addressing meetings—working in this as in all things with his whole energy. But when he returned in June 1887 to his Diocese, it was with a heavy heart, for the result of all his appeals was scarcely £1500 ($7500).

A sad event which occurred in the early part of the winter of 1886 affected him deeply—this was the death of Bishop M'Lean. The Bishop of Saskatchewan had been making a Visitation in his Diocese, and was returning from Edmonton to Prince Albert when his horses took fright and bolted; he was thrown from his waggon and seriously injured. He was obliged to return to Edmonton, where he recovered somewhat; still far from well, he was anxious to get back to his home, and travelled in a skiff or small open boat for many days down the Saskatchewan River, reaching Prince Albert on November 2. But in his condition the journey proved too much for him, and he passed away five days later. Referring to him Bishop Machray said, "I sorely miss the friend of my youth, whom I brought here to stand by my side, and with whom I shared the early years of my episcopate. . . . For his own Diocese his labours were abundant." Dr. M'Lean was succeeded by Archdeacon Pinkham, who was consecrated at Holy Trinity, Winnipeg, on August 7, 1887, the officiating prelates being the Bishops of Rupert's Land, Moosonee, Qu'Appelle, and Athabasca, of the Province of Rupert's Land, the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Thorold), England, the Bishop of Huron (Dr. Baldwin), Canada, and the Bishops of Minnesota (Dr. Whipple) and North Dakota (Dr. Walker), of the United States.

CHAPTER XVI

RECOVERY AND PROGRESS

1887–1890

Bishop Pinkham's Consecration on Sunday, August 7, 1887, signalised the beginning of a great week, as it may well be called, in the history of the Church in Rupert's Land—a "time of refreshing," which strengthened the hands and uplifted the heart of Bishop Machray in the midst of his difficulties. The life of a Colonial Bishop, at any rate of a Bishop in a "new country," in which settlement proceeds apace, is one of continual struggle. The two chief problems which Bishop Machray had to confront—the supplying of missionaries to new settlements and the carrying on of his College—dropped, as it were, for a short time out of sight in the presence of the great Church gathering in Winnipeg during that notable week. The occasion was, first, the Consecration of Dr. Pinkham, and, second, the meeting of the Provincial Synod, held at St. John's on August 10, 11, and 12. To take their share in them had come Bishop Horden from Moosonee, Bishop Anson from Assiniboia, formally known, after this Synod, as Qu'Appelle, and Bishop Young from Athabasca. When the See of Saskatchewan was filled up on that Sunday morning all the Bishops

of the Province were met together in Winnipeg, save Bishop Bompas of Mackenzie River, away in his almost inaccessible Diocese farthest north. To Winnipeg also had come distinguished representatives of the Church in England, in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada, and in the United States.

A wonderful gathering for Winnipeg, still in its first youth as a city—to its Bishop a truly wonderful gathering, inspiring him with fresh hope and renewed confidence. At one time during the week there were in Winnipeg no fewer than nine Bishops of the Church—the five out of the six Bishops of the Province of Rupert's Land, one English Bishop, Dr. Thorold of Rochester, one Bishop from the Province of Canada, Dr. Baldwin of Huron, and two American Bishops, Dr. Whipple of Minnesota and Dr. Walker of North Dakota. The Bishop of Rochester, Bishop Anson's former Diocesan, was making a trip through Canada, and he had brought with him a letter addressed to himself, but for the Synod, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, the Primate of the Province of Rupert's Land. The two American Bishops, whose Sees touched borders with Manitoba, had come to Winnipeg on Bishop Machray's invitation. The Bishop of Huron had also been invited, and he was charged with a special message from his Province. The presence of the visiting Bishops, all in themselves men of eminence, was an eloquent evidence of the unity of the Church, of the accord of Rupert's Land with the Mother Church in England, as well as with "Canada" and the Episcopal Church of the United States.

In addition to these high ecclesiastics there were in Winnipeg at this time the Rev. F. E. Wigram, the

Honorary Secretary of the C.M.S., who for several months had been making a round of the Society's missions throughout the world, and was now on his way back to England; the Rev. Canon (afterwards Bishop) du Moulin, and the Rev. Dr. O'Meara, of the Diocese of Toronto, and several American clergy—Dr. Hale, Dean of Davenport, Iowa; the Rev. W. T. Currie, the Rev. J. Trenaman, and the Rev. A. G. Pinkham (brother of Bishop Pinkham), of the Diocese of North Dakota; and the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, of the Diocese of Minnesota. Mr. Wigram preached the sermon at the opening of the Synod, and he and the other above-named clergymen were invited to seats on the floor of the Lower House. The presence of these Bishops and clergy made a deep impression in Winnipeg and was most helpful to the Church; Winnipeg, in its turn, made its own impression on the visitors, as did the Church. With respect to the latter, Bishop Thorold said, referring to the Consecration of Bishop Pinkham, and what he had seen in connection with it, that if he were to start back to England immediately and saw nothing more, he had witnessed so much that he would be amply repaid for his long journey by land and sea. The effect produced by the influence of the Church in Winnipeg was voiced by Mr. Gilfillan of Minnesota:[1]

Winnipeg, viewed from a religious standpoint, is wonderful, and puts us in the States to the blush. In that new town of 22,000 inhabitants there are six strong churches of our Communion, with a most admirable band of clergy, and all these churches are well attended, with large numbers of communicants. One church holds 1000 people, and it is nearly always full. We have nothing in the Western States to equal that church-

[1] In the *Minnesota Missionary*, quoted by the *Canadian Missionary*, October 1887.

building in that little town of yesterday, away in the wilderness. The musical part of the Service is rendered in a way far superior to anything we have heard in Minnesota.

On Sunday there are no street cars running, nor is there any other desecration of the Lord's Day. The entire population seem to go to church. It is a wonderful contrast to the open ungodliness and unblushing wickedness of any western town of its size and age, and causes us to hang our heads with shame at the contrast. It is also a wonderful tribute to the blessed influence of the Church, *which was here all ready to receive the tide of population when it came pouring in, and which moulded it as it came.*

The words in italics (the italics are those of the writer of this biography)—words coming, as they did, from an outside but competent observer—are, it will be seen, a voluntary and in some sort an unconscious and unpremeditated tribute also to the faith and foresight of the Bishop, to whose College-Cathedral system, criticised needlessly or ignorantly in certain quarters, the Church in Winnipeg owed in large measure its excellent position ; at the start, and for some time afterwards, every Anglican church in Winnipeg had been nourished and sustained by St. John's—in every sense the Mother Church of Winnipeg.

On the Monday after the Consecration a Conference was held in St. John's College of the clergy belonging to the C.M.S. of the Province who had come to attend the Synod ; there were also present Mr. Wigram, the Secretary of the Society, some of the Bishops, and others. Several of the missionaries, including Bishop Horden of Moosonee, delivered addresses recounting their experiences among the Indians and the Eskimo ; Bishop Whipple, Bishop Baldwin, and Mr. Wigram also spoke. In the evening there was a great missionary meeting in Holy Trinity Church. On the morning

C.M.S. Committee, Rupert's Land, 1887.

Mr. Wigram. Rev. F. E. Wigram. Bishop Horden. Bishop Machray. Archdeacon Cowley. Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Thorold).

Archdeacon Reeve. Rev. A. E. Cowley. Canon Matheson. Archdeacon M'Kay. Bishop Pinkham. Canon O'Meara. Rev. R. Phair. Mr. Wrigley. Bishop Young. Archdeacon G. M'Kay.

Mr. Gilroy. Rev. J. Settee.

Mr. Mulock. Rev. O. Fortin. Rev. J. W. Tims. Rev. W. Spendlove. Mr. Mathewson. Rev. W. A. Burman. Dean Grisdale. Rev. J. Irvine.

of Wednesday the members of the Synod assembled at St. John's College, and marched in procession to the Cathedral, where Divine Service was celebrated, Mr. Wigram being the preacher. In the afternoon the Synod met for deliberation, Bishop Machray as Metropolitan opening the proceedings with the usual Address.

He began with a reference to the death of Dr. M'Lean, the first Bishop of Saskatchewan, whose "great and varied gifts, readiness of utterance, and unceasing devotion" were now lost to the Province. He spoke next of the Consecration of Bishops Young and Pinkham, of the naming of the reduced See of Bishop Bompas as "Mackenzie River," and of the change of the name of the See of "Assiniboia" to "Qu'Appelle." One of the chief matters for the consideration of the Synod, he said, would be the Constitution as amended by the last Synod, and another was a resolution submitted by the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle urging the desirability of changing the name "Church of England in Rupert's Land" to some other which could be adopted by the whole Church in Canada, more clearly indicating "our geographical position." The Bishop expressed himself as unfavourable to such change. Then he touched on a subject which was shortly to become the most "live" subject throughout the Church in the Dominion —the Consolidation of the Church in Canada. He said:

I have reason to believe, though I have received no communication from the Metropolitan of "Canada," that a resolution was passed at the last meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada, favouring some joint action on the part of all the Dioceses of our Church in the Dominion. There have also been resolutions passed in Diocesan Synods in the Ecclesiastical

Province of Canada with the same view. Ordinarily I should not avail myself of the opportunity given me, as Metropolitan, of addressing you at the opening of the Synod to discuss questions that may come before the Provincial Synod, but my position, in God's providence, in the organisation and development of the Church here is so unique that, as I cannot but have a deep feeling on this subject, so I may be permitted to say a few words upon it.

I am not unfriendly to the formation of a body consisting of representatives of the various Dioceses, if sufficient provision be made to allow of our distant Dioceses being represented. A corresponding body in Australia is known as the General Synod, presided over by the Bishop of Sydney as Primate. What falls in the Australian Church to the General Synod, and what to the Provincial Synod, I am not aware. But I think such a General Synod might consult for as much unity of action as possible in missionary work, and might consider how far common legislative action might be recommended to the several Provinces.

But I am entirely opposed to the merging into one of the Provincial Synods. It is contrary to the policy of the Church in that other great colony, Australia. Though the Bishop of Sydney is Primate of all the thirteen Australian Dioceses, he is only Metropolitan of a Province containing five Dioceses. It ignores the experience of the American Church, in various parts of which a need has been felt for instituting an organisation of Dioceses, similarly circumstanced, into a kind of Provincial body. In Canada itself we find a very different course followed by the Roman Catholic Church, which once had one Province, but which of late years has had it subdivided into several. But whatever may be the action in other portions of the Church, we are so knit together in North-West Canada by long association, by community of feeling and interests, and specially by the sources of help in England by which our Dioceses have been built up and are maintained, that I think any loss of our Provincial independence would be unfortunate and might be disastrous.

The above statements, which are given as they were

uttered, are important, not only because they set forth thus early the attitude of the Bishop towards Church Consolidation in Canada—an attitude from which he did not recede—but also because they had a determining influence on the attitude of the Church in Rupert's Land on the question when it came to be debated at the "Winnipeg Conference" held in 1890. In the Lower House a resolution, in which the Bishops concurred, was passed on the motion of the Rev. E. S. W. Pentreath (afterwards Archdeacon), to the effect that, as the time had come to draw closer together the scattered portions of the Church of England in Canada, the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land reciprocated the desire of the Provincial Synod of Canada to establish closer relations, and while not committing itself to any scheme of union, would appoint a committee to communicate with the Committee appointed for a like purpose by the Provincial Synod of Canada, so as to provide for a Conference for discussing a basis of union. A copy of this resolution was handed to Dr. O'Meara of the Diocese of Toronto, and a member of the Provincial Synod of Canada; he was invited by the Lower House to address it on the subject of Church Consolidation.

This Provincial Synod—the fourth regular meeting, but in point of fact the fifth meeting—was by far the most representative Synod that had met in the Province. Not only were there five out of the six Bishops of the Province present in the Upper House, but delegates from or of the six Dioceses attended the sessions of the Lower House. Rupert's Land had thirteen, seven clerical and six lay delegates; Saskatchewan, five clerical delegates; Qu'Appelle, six clerical and one lay delegates; Mackenzie River, three clerical and one

lay delegates; Athabasca, two clerical and two lay delegates; and Moosonee, two lay delegates. Some of these delegates, it is true, were not from the Dioceses they represented, but were members of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, who were duly commissioned, however, for their office. Soon after the opening of the Synod there was a joint meeting of the two Houses to welcome the visiting Bishops and clergy. On this occasion the Bishop of Rochester made a short congratulatory speech, which he concluded by reading the letter written to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury:

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
20th July 1887.

MY DEAR BROTHER—When you are, by God's gift and guidance, at Manitoba, in the Synod, say one word for me, I beg you, to that gathering. May He "qui concilio olim apostolico illi etiam insideat Synodo." Would that He would pour out grace for them proportioned to the vastness of the task to which they set their unfearing hands, and surely He will, for He gives strength in proportion to the need, and the Bishops of Qu'Appelle and Rupert's Land are charged full of the sense of what it is to work in such horizons as theirs are. If there are any other Bishops there (as there will be), assure them that we find blessings descend on counselling which are far richer than the blessings on solitary planning and working, and I do pray God for both clergy and laity there, that He will work out unity first among them, and then by and through them. What a work God sets before the Churches of English tongue and English lore! May England herself be worthy of them and their love.—Your most affectionate brother,

EDW. CANTUAR.

The Right Reverend
The Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Much business was transacted by this Synod, although a good deal of it was of a routine nature.

Its principal acts were the accepting and adopting of the Constitution as passed at the last Provincial Synod (1884), the formation of a joint committee on the revision of the Provincial Canons, and another to inquire into the restrictions imposed on colonial clergy in England, the resolution on Church Consolidation already referred to, the making of the Civil District of Alberta into a See distinct from Saskatchewan, the Bishop of Saskatchewan remaining Bishop provisionally of both Sees, and the appointment of a joint committee on the Metropolitical See of the Province. The Memorial of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, asking that the name "Church of England in Rupert's Land" be changed, was "laid on the table."

One of the most affecting incidents of this memorable Synod was the speech made by the aged Prolocutor of the Lower House, Archdeacon Cowley, in reply to a vote of thanks, passed by the House standing, for his courtesy in the chair, a vote which also expressed the hope that he might long be spared to the Church. The venerable Archdeacon, in replying, spoke of himself as the only member of the Synod who united the past with the present; he had known the first missionaries in Rupert's Land; he had been forty-six years in the country, and in the natural course of events could not expect to live much longer, but whatever power or ability God might give him would gladly be devoted to further His work. . . . A month later the Archdeacon died — September 11, 1887. Preaching soon after the Archdeacon's death, the Bishop, who felt it very much, said:

> I came here (to the Diocese) at a very critical time. It was clear that there soon was to be a great change; it was necessary that the Church should be prepared for that change.

It was necessary that without delay there should be arrangements for self-government, self-support, and the training of a ministry of our own. Many good men would have hesitated in giving their support to what was proposed. It would have been very easy to create suspicion at home. . . . I was young and untried. . . . The loyal support and cordial help of Archdeacon Cowley were very useful. . . .

In the early days of his episcopate it was to the C.M.S. that the Bishop looked for assistance; the Society had confidence in the opinions and advice of their trusted missionary, the Archdeacon; the Archdeacon had consistently supported him in his plans, and in that way had largely contributed to the success of the organisation of the Diocese. "We lose with him," said the Bishop to the Diocesan Synod which met on October 26 of that year, "an experience and knowledge of the country and the people that cannot be replaced." At this Synod also, in going over the tale of the losses of the Church, he spoke of the late Bishop of Saskatchewan as "a grand example of the most entire devotion of gifts to the Master's use." But it was not of losses only that he spoke; he was able to speak of a turn in the tide of affairs, of the improving prospects of the country and, consequently, of the Church, in the Address with which he opened this Synod; there had been a bountiful harvest which "had filled the hearts of our farmers and all our people with hope and gladness."

Yet the solution of the problem of providing missionaries for the new settlements was as difficult as, or more difficult than before. Deducting the Church population in Winnipeg and in the Indian missions, there remained scarcely 20,000 members of the Church scattered throughout Manitoba, amidst a

population of 80,000. "The problem before the Church is the supplying of the means of grace to this very small body of our people scattered about in hundreds of settlements over the face of a territory as large as England." The Church in Eastern Canada had never had to face such a problem, and the difficulty of solving it had been intensified by the "marvellous supply of ministers that some of the other bodies have been enabled by their co-religionists elsewhere to bring into some portions of the field." He quoted a statement that the Presbyterians' supply of services in Manitoba gave an average of a meeting-place for worship for every nine families of their denomination, a state of things which led to the loss of members of the Church in such districts as the Church could not occupy, and also, by contrast with what others were able to do, made Church people more exacting and more readily dissatisfied. He pleaded for more self-denial "on the part of our people till our settlements are stronger."

Meanwhile a substantial addition had been made to the Church Endowment Fund; private donations had amounted to £500, which had been met with £1000 from the S.P.G. and £500 from the S.P.C.K. The total amount now invested for this Fund was $32,700 (about £6600). The English Societies continued their grants. But there were still at least ten districts where resident clergymen were required. The Bishop hoped, however, that with the improved prospects of the country several of the vacant missions would be filled up, perhaps all, before the next meeting of the Synod. On the other hand, there was always the difficulty of getting suitable men, even if the means of supporting them was in hand. Work in the

Colonial missions did not make equal appeal, to men of the noblest spirit of self-sacrifice, with work in the slums or in foreign missions. "The vice, ignorance, wretchedness, and want of religion of the masses in the crowded parts of the great cities of the old country, and the teeming millions in darkness in heathen lands, lay on such noble spirits a necessity which our wants cannot." The remedy lay in their own hands—they must train up men for themselves; once again the Bishop drove home the necessity of their maintaining their College.

He devoted some remarks to a consideration of the relations that should exist between the College and the University of Manitoba. So far the University had not had Professors; the teaching had all been done by St. John's and the other Colleges, but with the broadening out of subjects set for examination, the Colleges could not much longer overtake the necessary tuition, and University Professors would have to be appointed. The Colleges, however, would still have a great part to play. His view was that for some time to come the College Professors should teach the usual Classics and Mathematics, and that the University Professors should teach Natural and Applied Science and Modern Languages, while contentious subjects, as between themselves and the Roman Catholics, such as History, remained with the Colleges. But eventually the University would teach in all branches of learning, and then the Colleges would hold the same relation, or a similar relation, to the University as the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge hold to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He had no notion of any competition, as it were, between the Colleges and the University. Continuing, he said:

I have always accepted the clause in the University Act, "There shall be no professorship or other teachership at present in this University," as meaning that at some time in the future such professorships in the University would be established, and I have worked for St. John's College with the hope buoying me up that we had not before us what I should regard as the hopeless task of building up a College, supplying the requirements as regards instruction of a great University of the present day, but simply a home in that University, in which the sons of our Church people and any other students coming to us may, amid their secular studies and instruction, meet together daily as a family for morning and evening prayer, may have a supervision as regards their conduct, and may be carefully directed in their studies.

Reviewing the position of the Church as a whole, he said they had no reason to be ashamed or down-hearted. Their organisation, institutions, the number and character of the clergy, their churches and Services, compared favourably with those of any Diocese he knew. There was admittedly a lack of clergy; they should receive more money and men from outside, but it might be no evil thing in the end that there should be a struggle with difficulties, in order that they should be stirred up honestly and with self-denial to do their utmost. He declared, "I think we may well thank God and take courage."

During that winter a new effort was taken in hand. The Dominion Government approached the Bishop with a view to the establishment of an Industrial School for Indian children, to be organised and "run" by the Church. The Government offered $5000 towards the cost of a suitable building, and $100 annually for the maintenance of each child up to the number of 80 pupils—the Church was to do the rest. The Bishop resolved that the Church, pressed as it

was, should take the matter up, as it seemed a plain duty to try to do what it could for such an undertaking, for which, besides, considerable help might be expected from outside.

In 1888 the greatest event in the history of the Church of England as a whole was the Lambeth Conference which was held in July. Having been in England so lately, the Bishop was rather unwilling to go there so soon again, but thought it incumbent on him as Metropolitan of Rupert's Land to attend the Conference. Some weeks before he left Winnipeg for London, he was asked by cable by the Vice-Chancellor to preach the Annual Commencement Sermon at Cambridge, and his acceptance hastened his departure from the Diocese. Leaving Winnipeg late in May, he was in Cambridge early in the second week of June, the journey having occupied about twelve days—a fact significant of the great change which had taken place with respect to the erstwhile isolation of Rupert's Land from the rest of the world. At Cambridge the Bishop met many of his friends, amongst them Mr. Williams-Ellis and his wife, who had come over from their place in Wales to meet him, and to be present with him on the occasion of the conferring of degrees on Prince Albert Victor, the eldest son of the Prince and Princess of Wales (now the King and Queen), on Cabinet Ministers, and other personages. From Cambridge the Bishop went to London, and had long interviews with the Secretaries of the Church Societies. He afterwards spent several days with the Bishop of Rochester at Selsdon Park, thus returning the visit of Dr. Thorold to himself in Winnipeg in the previous year. At Selsdon he met Dr. Perry, the Bishop of Iowa, who, in a narrative

entitled *The Third Lambeth Conference*, thus wrote of him :

> Here we met most pleasantly the Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, whose work has been that of an Apostle, and the story of whose success quite carries one back to the days of apostolic triumphs for the faith. We had met this most interesting and accomplished prelate at Cambridge, where we sat *vis-à-vis* at the famous lunch at the Fitzwilliam Museum, on the occasion of the giving of the honorary doctorate to Prince Albert Victor and other notables, but it was a most enjoyable experience to be for several days with one whose wide experience in episcopal work, particularly in shaping the educational system of an ecclesiastical province, made his every word of value, and his advice worthy of the closest attention and following.

After participating in what was called, appropriately enough, the "Canterbury Procession"—the visit of the Bishops to the "Chair" of St. Augustine, from whence Archbishop Benson delivered an address of welcome—Bishop Machray was back in London for the opening of the Conference, which took place on July 3 at Lambeth Palace, when Bishop Whipple of Minnesota preached a remarkable sermon. "The words of Bishop Whipple were very touching," said Bishop Machray, when speaking to his next Synod of the Conference, "especially to one like myself so fully sympathising with him in his affectionate longing for unity among all calling themselves Christians." Six subjects were selected for discussion at the Conference. Bishop Machray was asked by Archbishop Benson to take part in opening that on "Authoritative Standards of Doctrine and Worship," but declined, because, to quote his words, "the subject had not received from me such consideration as would entitle me to open it before such an assembly, and also I felt uncertain as

to the exact bearing of the words—a difficulty which I found not peculiar to myself." The Bishop, however, served on four committees—on the Care of Emigrants, on Home Reunion, on Authoritative Standards, and on General Questions.

Home Reunion was a subject very near the Bishop's heart ; in his opinion it transcended every other before the Conference, and his desire to give any help in his power to advance such union was one great reason of his overcoming his unwillingness to attend. The committee was presided over by Dr. Barry, the able and forceful Metropolitan of Sydney ; and it afterwards was known that the report of this committee led to an animated discussion which turned mainly on the question of the recognition by the Church of non-episcopal Ordinations. Bishop Barry took the view that in special circumstances episcopal Ordination was not indispensable. In addressing his Synod Bishop Machray said that, while he could not forget that in very early years he became quite convinced that the threefold Order of the Ministry had been the normal rule of the Church since the beginning, he saw no difficulty, in special cases, of accepting Presbyterian Orders. This, however, was by no means the opinion of the majority of the Conference, who recommitted the report presented by Dr. Barry ; in the result the Conference held that episcopal Ordination was necessary for reunion.

Between its sessions as a Conference and the meetings of its committees practically the whole of July was taken up. During the month the Bishop read a paper on the Church in Rupert's Land before the S.P.G. and before the S.P.C.K. He told these Societies how he, "in the Providence of God, had

been present at the birth of a new people," and spoke at length of the growth, past, present, and future, of his adopted country, comparing its prospects with the existing condition of the American States lying immediately south of its frontier. He presented once more the special features of Church work in Manitoba and the North-West—the numerous, far-scattered, sparsely-peopled settlements, and the difficulty of providing them with clergymen, and the important place occupied in the land by the institutions he had founded, reinforcing as usual his statements with copious statistics. During the month he also preached in Westminster Abbey and in many of the London churches. At the close of the Conference he went with many other Bishops to Durham, on the invitation of the Bishop of Durham, where he received the degree of D.D. from its University. Later he paid a short visit to the Archbishop of York. Early in August he greatly enjoyed being present at the silver wedding of his friends, the Rev. C. Alfred Jones, his Commissary, then Vicar of Dedham, and Mrs. Jones. The time he had allowed himself for this visit to England was too short to permit him to see all his friends, but the Conference gave him an opportunity of meeting many of them. September saw him back again in Winnipeg.

The Diocesan Synod met on October 30 and 31, and November 1, and the Bishop, in the customary Address, gave an account of his visit to England, and dealt with other matters of current interest. Amongst the latter topics, he referred to receiving a resolution of the Synod of Toronto on the union of the Church in British North America under one ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which spoke of making the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Canada conterminous with the Civil. The

Bishop characterised this resolution as impracticable, as it made no effort to adapt its suggestions to existing circumstances. These suggestions, if acted upon, would dissolve the present Provincial Synods. "If our friends in the Eastern Provinces (of the Dominion), who are anxious for union," said the Bishop, "would accept existing conditions and work for a General Synod to represent the present two Ecclesiastical Provinces and that of British Columbia, which may shortly be expected, they would be likely to secure their object more readily. I should personally be determinedly opposed to any other arrangement. But I am quite willing for this, if it can be established under conditions satisfactory to us in view of the difficulty of our representatives attending." It was on this basis that the Consolidation of the Church eventually took place.

In April 1889 the Bishop wrote a long letter to Prebendary Tucker of the S.P.G., in which he mentioned some interesting facts about the country and the Diocese. The population of Winnipeg had grown to 25,000, but the country still felt some of the evil effects of the "Winnipeg Boom." There had been a great development in railways, and the past year had been one of clear advance; their circumstances were improving; there was nothing wrong with the country; its Church people were doing all they could for the missions, but they were not in a position to do enough. The Home Mission Fund required about $17,000 (£3400), and its income for the previous year had been about $14,000 (£2800), leaving a shortage of $3000 (£600). How was this to be made up? Here was the ever-recurring problem caused by insufficient means. There was the hope that "Canada" would do more for them, and

they needed every penny the Societies could give them—indeed, their needs were ever increasing. He asked the S.P.G. for increased grants. He wrote in a similar strain to the C.C.C.S., mentioning that there were now 800 settlements in his Diocese, but only 150 centres for Services supplied or partly supplied by the Church. The people did nobly in giving, but, said the Bishop, "we are only a small body of some 25,000 Church people—men, women, and children."

In the summer of 1889 he was present at the first meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary, which had been definitely separated from Saskatchewan at the last Provincial Synod, Bishop Pinkham being Bishop of both Dioceses until an episcopal endowment was obtained for Calgary. It was arranged that when that came about, as it did some years later, Bishop Pinkham was to have his choice of either See—eventually, he elected to be Bishop of Calgary. Later in the summer Bishop Machray held a Visitation of some of the Indian missions, holding Confirmations at Staggville, Fairford, Lac Seul, Frenchmen's Head, and Islington. He had not been able to see these missions for some time, and he was delighted to observe the very decided progress since his last visits ; the Services were entered into most reverently, and the converts were growing in self-reliance ; at the points he touched he found that the Indians were nearly all completely turned away from paganism to Christianity. In the meantime the new enterprise of the Indian school, mentioned in a previous paragraph of this chapter, had been prosecuted with success. Land had been acquired in St. Paul's parish—the parish of which the Bishop had acted as Incumbent in the early years of his episcopate ; a building had been erected, and the Rev. W. A. Burman,

who had had charge formerly of the Sioux Mission, was appointed Principal.

There was a distinct improvement in the country in 1889, with an increase in the number of immigrants; Manitoba at last emerged from the dark shadows cast by the Boom. On the other hand, there was not much gain in strength in the missions; whilst many new settlers came, some of the old settlers moved farther west, and the immediate effect of immigration was a call for the formation of new missions, and a division of the most unwieldy of the old—the latter a process which was bound to go on with increasing force as settlement increased. But where were the funds to come from?—the same ever-harassing question. The Bishop thought it improbable that more help could be got from England than was already being obtained, but there was good ground for expecting greater assistance from Eastern Canada. At the request of the Executive Committee of the Diocese—the organisation which acted as the standing council of the Bishop, and was elected annually by the Synod—Dean Grisdale had attended a recent meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada, and had received welcome and encouragement. The Metropolitan of "Canada" had written that the Church in Eastern Canada would extend a hearty welcome to a representative, duly accredited by the Bishop, on behalf of the Home Mission Fund of Rupert's Land. Now and again in the past something had been done by various persons in the way of raising funds in Toronto and Montreal and other cities and towns of Canada; there now seemed to be promise of largely increased assistance. The people of the Diocese, too, were raising more for the Church among themselves.

On the other hand, the Bishop had to deplore two losses sustained at this time by the Diocese—the death of two of its most prominent laymen, Mr. C. J. Brydges and the Hon. Thomas Norquay. The former had acted as Honorary Treasurer of the Synod for years—ever since the Bishop had handed over to the Synod the management of the finances of the Diocese ; the other had been Premier of Manitoba, and a member of all the councils of the Church. Mr. Brydges was a man of great financial ability and knowledge, which he had placed freely at the service of the Church. "It is a great gain for the Church," said the Bishop to his next Synod, "when a layman of the influence, position, and place in the public estimation which Mr. Brydges had, takes an active part in the administration of its affairs. There is not only the immediate benefit of his own help, but the example affords such encouragement to others to rise to a like self-surrender, and devote themselves and their gifts to the service of the Lord." Mr. Norquay had been educated at St. John's College, and, notwithstanding the demands made upon him by his absorbing political life, had always found time to assist the Bishop and the Church, especially with respect to legislation. He had been a lay delegate of the Conference which had resolved itself into the first Synod of Rupert's Land, and had been a delegate at all the Diocesan and Provincial Synods. He was greatly attached to the College ; with four of his sons, all *alumni* of St. John's, he had driven over in the early summer to see the College Sports.

Mr. Norquay's party, which was Conservative, had been defeated at the provincial elections a year or two previously, and a Liberal administration had come into

power. In 1890 this Liberal Government passed two Acts abolishing the dual system of education that had obtained in Manitoba since 1871 (see p. 238), and creating a Department of Education, consisting of an Executive Council and an Advisory Board, the latter being composed of four members appointed by the Department, two by the teachers of the schools, and one by the University. The new legislation did away with State-aided denominational schools—in this case Roman Catholic schools—and laid it on the Advisory Board to prescribe the form of religious exercises to be used in schools. The passing of these Acts caused the rising of a great storm both in the Province of Manitoba and throughout Canada (see pp. 399, 416), which raged for several years. The practical effect of this school legislation was that religious teaching almost disappeared from the schools, as the Government was bent on a distinctively secular education, and controlled through its four nominees the action of the Advisory Board. The Bishop was elected the representative of the University on the Board, and its other members paid him the compliment of making him its Chairman. Needless to say, the turn events had taken with respect to education was deeply disappointing to him.

Prior to 1890 there had been an agitation with respect to the schools. At the Diocesan Synod, which met on October 29 and 30, 1889, a large portion of the Bishop's Address was devoted to a consideration of the school question. He reminded the Synod that before the transfer of the country to the Dominion the Church had had a primary school wherever there was a clergyman. When the Red River Settlement passed into the Province of Manitoba, the Church saw such

advantages in a national system of schools, and such reason to have confidence in its administration, that it cordially acquiesced in it, trusting that the schools would be worthy of a Christian people, and give an education in which the religious interests of the children would not be neglected. The reason why he had given up so much time, which he could ill spare, to the Board of Education had been the hope that by conciliation a measure of religious education would be secured that would be reasonably satisfactory to the Church and other bodies. The Roman Catholic Church, however, had had separate schools up to 1889. He did not criticise the attitude of the Government; he contented himself with stating that the English plan of administering education, in which separate schools had their place, seemed to him the best. The really serious question was that of the education to be given.

As it was in every way desirable that the peoples of the country should be amalgamated, he thought it was right that the boys and girls belonging to the Church should be educated with the other young folk in the common schools. But what education was to be given them? Was it to be an education that kept out of view those divine sanctions which are the real foundations of morality, an education that took no notice of the Christian Faith, "to which we owe our modern civilisation, and from which we receive the hope of our life"? Such an education, he believed, would in the end be a poor one for both the individual and the State. So far as he could see, the only serious objection to religious worship and teaching in primary schools lay in the divisions of Christianity — other objections were without force in view of the greatness of the desired end. He thought it was not difficult to

draw up a scheme giving a considerable, to his mind an adequate, amount of religious teaching which would be acceptable to the various religious bodies. Personally he held no extreme view, but he believed it was perfectly possible for the Churches to agree on an adequate selection of lessons from the Bible ; then there were broad places of agreement in the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

The Synod, at which were present thirty-six clergy and forty-three laymen, passed a resolution endorsing the Bishop's views, and asserting the necessity, in the truest interests of education, of some non-sectarian religious teaching in the public schools. The Bishop was asked to name a committee to confer with representatives of other religious bodies in regard to the subject. Another important matter before this Synod was the report of the committee on the Metropolitical See, who submitted this recommendation :

> That although this Diocese has now obtained the right of electing its own Bishop, yet with a view to the retention of the Diocese of Rupert's Land as the permanent Metropolitical See, it is willing that in case of a vacancy occurring at any time in the See the Bishop (who shall also be Metropolitan) be chosen in the following manner, viz. three names to be chosen by the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, of whom the House of Bishops must select one to be both Bishop of Rupert's Land and Metropolitan of Rupert's Land.

Naturally there was a lively discussion over this difficult question, but in the end the report was received, and the Bishop was asked to appoint a committee to confer with the Provincial Synod on the subject. The Bishop was very much pleased that there was a fair prospect of this matter, in which he took the deepest interest, being settled (see p. 323).

Their legislation with respect to schools was not the only action of the local Government which disturbed the Bishop at this time. In the spring of 1890 the Legislature passed a clause in a Municipal Law which terminated the exemption from taxation of churches (of every denomination) and surrounding church land to the extent of two acres. The law, however, raised such a feeling throughout the country that it was speedily repealed, so far as taxation on churches was concerned.

Prosperity marked the year 1890 in both country and Church. In the early months there was an increase in immigration; Winnipeg and the settlements "went ahead." The Church boldly entered on several new missions, and by the summer all the old missions and seven or eight new ones had resident clergymen; the Church was "growing satisfactorily," wrote the Bishop to a friend. But this year is chiefly memorable because in it took place the meeting of that Conference at Winnipeg that prepared the way for the Consolidation of the Church throughout Canada, which was consummated three years later.

CHAPTER XVII

TOWARDS CHURCH CONSOLIDATION

1890–1893

All Churchmen throughout the Dominion were agreed as to the great desirability—some went so far as to speak of the necessity—of the union of the various branches of the Church of England in British North America, which at this time consisted of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada with nine Sees, the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land with eight Sees, and four Sees outside the two Provinces—twenty-one Sees in all. One of these last Sees, however, was Newfoundland, which was outside the Dominion. The conception of a united Church in British North America was one that appealed to the imagination, and in Canada gathered round itself a good deal of sentiment of a far from despicable kind—the growing sentiment of Canadian nationalism; it were better called feeling than sentiment. Also it was easy to perceive that the union might have, if rightly directed must have, many practical advantages. Leaving aside mere matters of detail on which all could hardly be expected to see eye to eye in any scheme for the consummation of this union, there was one aspect, and fortunately only one, of the question on which was manifested a serious

difference of opinion—the retention of the system of Ecclesiastical Provinces with their Synods under a General Synod or other General Representative Council of the whole Church when united.

Bishop Machray held pronounced views on the question (see p. 335); while he was in favour of the establishment of a General Synod, he was determinedly opposed to the abolition of the Provincial Synods. If the union could only be attained through the dissolution of the Provincial Synods, he was against the union. He said that the best plan for those who were working seriously for a General Synod was to accept existing conditions (see p. 347). With the exception of Dr. Anson, Bishop of Qu'Appelle, all the Bishops of his Province concurred with his views. The subject was keenly debated in Eastern Canada, bringing out much diversity of opinion, though its general trend was friendly to the maintenance of the Provincial Synods. The important Diocese of Montreal, however, declared for the dissolution of the Provincial Synods. On the other hand, one or two of the Dioceses in the Civil Province of Ontario had voted for the establishment of more Ecclesiastical Provinces, on the basis of there being an Ecclesiastical Province for every Civil Province. This question, then—the retention or abolition of the Provincial Synods and Ecclesiastical Provinces—became the crux of the whole situation; it came to an issue at the "Winnipeg Conference."

In 1889 the Provincial Synod of Canada appointed a committee, whose business was the gathering together in conference of representatives of all the Dioceses in British North America to discuss and find, if possible, a common basis of union—of "Consolidation," the

descriptive phrase selected. This committee communicated by circular with the Bishops and Synods of the Dioceses concerned, and invited two delegates from each Diocesan Synod to a Conference to be held in September 1890. On receipt of the circular Bishop Machray, as Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, took exception to its being addressed to the individual Bishops and Synods of his Province, as the matter lay within the domain of the Provincial Synod, which had already had it under consideration (see pp. 337, 339); the committee thereupon agreed that the representatives at the Conference of the Province should be appointed by its Synod. It appeared that Winnipeg had been chosen as the scene of the Conference without reference to Bishop Machray, who naturally should have been consulted, but the Bishop made no objection; on the contrary, he suggested, so as to give it every chance of success, that it should be held in Winnipeg in August, instead of September, as his Provincial Synod was called for the former month. The session of the Provincial Synod could be arranged so as to admit the holding of the Conference within the same time. His suggestion was adopted by the committee, who sent out an announcement of the change of date. Delegates to the Conference were appointed by all the Dioceses except Newfoundland and Caledonia, the latter Diocese not then being organised, and the position of the former, a See in an independent Crown Colony, being somewhat different from that of the others.

Much exercised in spirit by the approach of the Conference, the influence and decisions of which, from its genuinely representative character, could not fail to be of the highest importance, Bishop Machray prepared for it by writing a paper or tract dealing with the

burning question of the maintenance of the Provincial Synods from every point of view. This tract, though comparatively short—he was a man who never wasted words or time—was a masterly presentment of the whole subject, and was largely effective in settling the matter. After tracing the genesis and development of Provincial Church systems historically throughout the world, he adverted to the fact that in the Dominion all the other great religious bodies practically adopted the principle—the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, and the Methodists had Provincial Synods, or their equivalents. The Church in Australia had a General Synod, a provision for Provincial Synods, of which one was in existence, and Diocesan Synods. The only exception to an otherwise universal rule was the Church in the United States, but it was an exception more apparent than real, because the last General Convention of that Church had passed a Canon authorising the formation of a Federate Convention or Council of the Dioceses within any State—which was nothing else than a Provincial Synod.

Having shown the universality as well as antiquity of Ecclesiastical Provincial systems, he asked why should the creation of a General Synod for Canada call for the extinction of their present Provinces? He took the case of the Church in England; some thought it would be well if the Mother Church had a representative Council for the whole of England, but no one advocated the extinguishing of the existing Provinces of Canterbury and York—"such an idea would be at once scouted." The two Provinces had their own different characteristics, and it was felt that if there were a General Council the smaller assemblies would still have their uses. He continued:

But if ever it was desirable to have a separate Provincial Synod under a General Synod for the whole country, it is surely here. The vast extent and unwieldy character of the Dominion make it desirable to have more frequent meetings of portions of the Church than we can expect of the whole Church. Then, huge as this North-West of Canada is, there is a great community of interest and feeling among its people, and especially among those born in the country, and such feeling is in many respects different from that in Eastern Canada. But this is especially the case with the Church. It has expanded from the one Diocese of Rupert's Land. In our first days we were nursed by the C.M.S., and as our missions under their devoted missionaries have penetrated into and through the vast solitudes of the country, we have been helped by that Society with no niggard hand, and in what, even in these days, would be considered a Churchly manner.

I look over this vast country and, when the Diocese of Selkirk is formed (see p. 365), as I hope will be the case in a few weeks, there is no mission however lonely, no outpost, that cannot look for early episcopal visitation and direction—the only awkwardness and inconvenience now being in the divided state of the Moosonee Diocese. It would be very foolish and very wrong in me to take credit for much in this great work. Yet I feel I have a responsibility, which I trust our Province will not generally ignore, but which, if it does, I cannot. I have this sense of responsibility because I feel that the confidence that the C.M.S. have had in me has helped in some measure to this result. And that confidence has been further extended to our Provincial Synod and our Provincial system from the welcome which we have apparently given with a whole heart to the Society's efforts. They have supplied not only missionaries through the vast regions of the North, but Bishops.

And we have met their noble and disinterested care for the Indian by every assurance of arrangements that would suit their views and method of work. We know very well the principles of that Society. Many, perhaps most of us, cherish them as our own. But however that may be, we have arranged

for giving independence and a voice in our Provincial Synod to those small distant Dioceses, so that they cannot be overwhelmed, and we have arranged for the appointment of Bishops in certain cases by the Society, and it is on the security of these arrangements, and their satisfaction with them, that the C.M.S. have acted. Whatever assurances might be given to us from the rest of Canada, I consider that we would be wanting in good faith if we were to place these arrangements in jeopardy, and I know no way of preventing this but by keeping our Provincial system intact.

He next considered the objections which had been raised against Provincial Synods. It had been alleged that they were in some way unscriptural, because, apparently, they were not mentioned in Scripture. The Bishop replied that the Bible gave no express rules for the future administration of the Church after it had become a great body; hence experience had to be the guide. He was confident that there was a presiding Bishop, presiding over Suffragan Bishops in a Province, before ever there was a Presbyter presiding over one or more Presbyters in a parish, and in the silence of Scripture the guiding of experience was enough. It was said that Provincial Synods in Canada would prevent the Canadian Church from emulating the great Church of the United States, the insinuation being that the division of the former into Provinces was accountable for some supposed deficiency in it when compared with the American. The Bishop said such a deficiency was purely imaginary, and urged the consideration of the "real facts":

We rejoice at the increasing numbers, the growing strength, the noble work in so many directions of the American Church. But let us not deceive ourselves. That Church finds itself in a great country of sixty million souls, with cultivated homes, with persons of vast wealth, with tens of thousands of families

and individuals accustomed to travel in Europe, to stay for months in England, entering into the first society more or less, and getting insensibly into touch with the religious predilections and sentiments of that society. It needs little experience or knowledge of the world to learn that there is a great attraction in our Church for the members of such classes. Let us remove these and their large circle of connections from the American Church, and then ask ourselves how far that Church is the Church of the masses of those farmers, labourers, and tradesmen that we have happily largely to minister to, and I am afraid the answer would be too often a sorry one. Indeed, I do not think that if we compare the growth of our own Diocese with the growth of any Diocese of the American Church in proportion to the population, we have any cause to be ashamed.

Another objection to Provincial Synods was that financial help from Eastern Canada to Rupert's Land was, and would be hindered by their existence. The Bishop said he could not believe this was the truth. But he had never been sanguine that a union of the two Provinces would bring much pecuniary assistance to Rupert's Land, because, so far as mere organisation went, he regarded the Diocesan arrangements of the Church in the Province of Canada as seriously in the way of any united missionary effort of the Church—each Diocese being wrapped up in its efforts for itself. And surely the fact of their having a separate organisation in Rupert's Land should not make Churchmen in Eastern Canada averse from supporting them in their missions, seeing that the Church in Eastern Canada, though a separate organisation, had received much help from outside. And if it was thought that the confederation of Rupert's Land with "Canada" meant a leaning of the former on Canada at once in place of England for support, they might well hesitate to move a step

forward—"Canada" having thus far done so little, comparatively, for North-West missions.

In fact, when we compare what "Canada" has done for Algoma ("Canada's" most necessitous missionary Diocese) with what English aid has accomplished for us, I am inclined to think that as far as there is any risk of our losing any of the sympathy and help of England, we are just joining Canada early enough. We are not at all able in this Province yet to part company with the Mother Church of England. If there is any notion of encouraging this, then if we are asked to cross the stream, we have every reason not first to burn the bridge of boats behind us. Further, though very friendly to confederation, I have no sympathy with it as any assertion of the time having arrived for our professing an independency of the Mother Church, and of our being of age to be a law unto ourselves. . . .

For myself, while I would welcome a confederation of the Church of England in the Dominion, and the formation of a General Synod, I have no hesitation in saying that if Eastern Canada demands, as the condition of union, that this our Province be dissolved, then we should firmly reply that we shall hold to our Province, and put off the union to a future and, we hope, not distant day, when we have no doubt the advantage of Provinces under a General Synod will be fully recognised. . . . I cannot but think that those whose minds are as clearly made up as mine is would act most frankly, while they would probably save the wasting of much valuable time, by passing a resolution (in the Provincial Synod) that this Province would only enter the confederation on the understanding that there would continue to be Provincial Synods under a General Synod.

This Church state-document, as it may well be called, was read by the Bishop at a meeting of the delegates to the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land from the Diocese of Rupert's Land; the delegates at once requested the Bishop to have it printed and

circulated among all the delegates attending the Provincial Synod, and throughout the Church generally. The Synod assembled on August 13, 1890, and was not closed until five days later. Four Bishops comprised the Upper House on this occasion—Rupert's Land, Qu'Appelle, Athabasca, and Saskatchewan and Calgary ; the Lower House consisted of nearly seventy delegates, representing the seven organised Dioceses of the Province—Rupert's Land, Moosonee, Saskatchewan, Athabasca, Qu'Appelle, Mackenzie River, and Calgary. The delegates to the Conference arrived at Winnipeg in the same week, and there was much friendly exchange of greetings and of views. It was soon evident that while all were enthusiastic for the union, and full of hope as to the result of the Conference, there was a marked spirit of sympathy, conciliation, and good feeling, which found expression notably in the sermon with which the Synod was opened, the preacher being the Bishop of Toronto (the late Archbishop Sweatman), who took as his text, "Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv. 3).

The main subject before the Synod, apart from the usual routine business, was the union. Bishop Machray touched upon it in his Metropolitical Address, and referred to the approaching Conference. He warmly welcomed to Winnipeg the distinguished Bishops and others from the rest of the Church who had come to attend it. Turning to the special affairs of the Province, he mentioned that since the last Synod the Diocese of Calgary had been organised independently of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, though Bishop Pinkham remained for the time Bishop of both Sees, and that, at Bishop Bompas's

request, there would be proposed a further division of the Diocese of Mackenzie River, the north-western portion of which would be formed into a separate Diocese, it would be suggested, to be called Selkirk (afterwards Yukon). Negotiations with respect to this division had been going on for some time between Bishops Machray and Bompas and the C.M.S., and the Society had agreed, in the event of the division being authorised by the Provincial Synod, to find the income for the new Bishop. With increasing years Bishop Bompas had experienced greater difficulty in visiting properly the vast tract included in his Diocese of Mackenzie River, had begged the Society to relieve him of part of it in this manner, and the Society, anxious to do anything for Bishop Bompas, one of its many heroes, had gladly consented. Selkirk was the eighth See to be taken out of the original Diocese of Rupert's Land.

The Provincial Synod having declared for the retention of the Provincial Synods, and having adjourned its session at noon on August 15, the Conference was opened in St. John's College at two o'clock on the same afternoon, there being present 7 Bishops, 33 clergy, and 25 laity. Ten members of the committee of the Provincial Synod of Canada, at whose instance the Conference was summoned, were present:

The Bishops of Toronto (Dr Sweatman), Huron (Dr. Baldwin), and Nova Scotia (Dr. Courtney); the Revs. Canon Partridge (Nova Scotia), W. A. Young (Huron), Canon White (Ontario), the Hon. D. L. Hanington, Q.C. (Fredericton), and Messrs. R. W. Heneker, D.C.L. (Quebec), Charles Jenkins (Huron), and R. T. Walkem, Q.C. (Ontario). In addition to these delegates from Eastern Canada, that part of the Dominion was also represented by delegates from its various

Synods: Mr. C. N. Vroom (Fredericton), Canon (afterwards Bishop) Thornloe (Quebec), Archdeacon Lindsay and Dr. Leo H. Davidson (Montreal), Rev. J. Langtry, D.C.L., and J. George Hodgins, LL.D. (Toronto), Archdeacon Dixon and Mr. J. J. Mason (Niagara), and Dean Innes and Mr. W. J. Imlach (Huron). British Columbia sent two representatives, both from the Diocese of New Westminster, Archdeacon Woods and Mr. Delacey Johnson.

The Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land declared all its members to be delegates; there were present the four Bishops, and the following clergy (twenty-four) and laity (fifteen): Dean Grisdale, Archdeacons M'Kay and Phair, Canons Coombes, Flett, Matheson, O'Meara, and Pentreath, and the Revs. F. Baker, W. E. Brown, W. A. Burman, H. B. Cartwright, A. W. F. Cooper, A. E. Cowley, L. Dawson, A. L. Fortin, A. W. Goulding, G. Holmes, A. Krauss, E. K. Matheson, J. F. Pritchard, J. P. Sargent, J. W. Tims, and A. H. Wright; and Colonel Bedson, Messrs. H. S. Crotty, H. Fisher, W. G. Fonseca, T. Gilroy, Sheriff Inkster, J. P. J. Jephson, F. H. Mathewson, W. J. Melrose, W. R. Mulock, Q.C., W. Pearce, J. Summer, J. Taylor, W. White, and Joseph Wrigley. To offset the numerical preponderance of Rupert's Land, voting was to be "by Dioceses."

Bishop Machray was appointed President of the Conference, and Canon Matheson (Rupert's Land) and Dr. Leo Davidson (Montreal) were selected as its Secretaries. After considerable discussion, in the course of which Bishop Anson, Archdeacon Lindsay, and Dr. Davidson advocated the dissolution of the Provinces with their Synods, while Bishops Baldwin and Pinkham, Dean Grisdale, and others, spoke for their retention, two resolutions were passed: (1) That this Conference is of opinion that it is expedient to unite and consolidate the various branches of the Church of England in British North America; (2) That in any scheme of union the Conference affirms the necessity of the retention of

Provinces under a General Synod. The second resolution was carried by a large and decisive majority—to the deep satisfaction of Bishop Machray, who had been rather afraid that the project of union would fall through owing to the proposal to do away with the Provinces and their Synods.

Mr. Charles Jenkins, one of the secretaries of the committee appointed by the Synod of "Canada," submitted a memorandum which embodied the chief points of a probable basis of a Constitution for a General Synod. This memorandum was referred to a committee appointed by the Conference to draft an outline Scheme for a General Synod. The committee consisted of Bishops Machray and Sweatman, Dean Grisdale, Dr. Langtry, Canons Partridge and O'Meara, and Mr. C. Jenkins, Dr. Heneker, and Mr. Wrigley. They brought in their report on August 16, and what was known as the "Winnipeg Scheme," which was this report with some amendments, was passed unanimously by the Conference. The Scheme provided for a General Synod, consisting of two Houses —a House of Bishops, and a House of Delegates chosen on a proportionate basis from the clergy and laity by the Diocesan Synods. The President of the General Synod, who was to be styled Primate, was to be elected by the Bishops from among the Metropolitans. The Synod was to have power to deal with all matters affecting the general interest of the Church within its jurisdiction, but none of its Canons or resolutions of a coercive character or involving penalties or disabilities was to be operative until accepted by the Provincial Synods, or the Synods of Dioceses not included in a Province. The following were suggested as properly coming within its jurisdiction :

(*a*) Matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline.

(*b*) All agencies employed in the carrying on of the Church's work.

(*c*) The missionary and educational work of the Church.

(*d*) The adjustment of relations between Dioceses in respect to Clergy Widows and Orphans' Funds and Superannuation Funds.

(*e*) Regulations affecting the transfer of Clergy from one Diocese to another.

(*f*) Education and training of candidates for Holy Orders.

(*g*) Constitution and powers of an Appellate Tribunal.

(*h*) The erection, division, or rearrangement of Provinces; but the erection, division, or rearrangement of Dioceses, and the appointment and consecration of Bishops within a Province, were to be dealt with by the Synod of that Province.

The Scheme provided that the first meeting of the General Synod was to be held in Toronto on the second Wednesday of September 1893, and convened by the Metropolitan senior by consecration.

Bishop Machray and Churchmen of the North-West generally were well pleased with the Scheme, which, when the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land resumed its session, was unanimously adopted, the necessary changes in the Constitution of the Provincial Synod being carried without a dissenting voice. Among these changes was the abolition of the Primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury over the Province of Rupert's Land. It may be noted in passing, that it was suggested, during the discussions on the Scheme, that the Primate of the united Church under the General Synod should be styled Archbishop, but the idea was not taken up, though one of the Diocesan Synods of Eastern Canada, a year or two before, had voted that the Metropolitans should be Archbishops. The "Winnipeg Scheme" was not received throughout

THE "WINNIPEG CONFERENCE."

KEY TO ENGRAVING OF DELEGATES AT THE "WINNIPEG CONFERENCE."

1. The Metropolitan of Rupert's Land. 2. The Bishop of Nova Scotia. 3. The Bishop of Toronto. 4. The Bishop of Huron. 5. The Bishop of Qu'Appelle. 6. The Bishop of Athabasca. 7. The Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary. 8. Rev. Canon Matheson. 9. Mr. J. J. Mason, Hamilton. 10. Rev. Dr. Langtry, Toronto. 11. Very Rev. Dean Innes, London. 12. Rev. A. W. Goulding, B.D., Manitoba. 13. Ven. Archdeacon Dixon, Guelph. 14. Mr. W. J. Imlach, London. 15. Mr. J. Wrigley, Winnipeg. 16. R. W. Heneker, D.C.L., Sherbrooke, P.Q. 17. Mr. W. R. Mulock, Q.C., Winnipeg. 18. Rev. Rural Dean Pentreath, Winnipeg. 19. Ven. Archdeacon Phair, Winnipeg. 20. Rev. Canon Partridge, Halifax, N.S. 21. Rev. Canon O'Meara, Winnipeg. 22. Ven. Archdeacon Woods, Victoria, B.C. 23. L. H. Davidson, D.C.L., Montreal. 24. J. G. Hodgins, LL.D., Q.C., Toronto. 25. Mr. Lacey Johnson, New Westminster, B.C. 26. Mr. R. T. Walkem, Q.C., Kingston. 27. Hon. D. L. Hanington, Dorchester, N.B. 28. Rev. Canon White, Iroquois. 29. Mr. Chas. Jenkins, Petrolia. 30. Rev. J. W. Tims, Blackfoot Reserve, Calgary. 31. Rev. W. A. Young, Goderich. 32. Very Rev. Dean Grisdale, D.D., Winnipeg. 33. Rev. A. E. Cowley, Sec. C.M.S., Winnipeg. 34. Rev. A. L. Fortin, Rat Portage. 35. Rev. W. A. Burman, St. Paul's Indian School, Manitoba. 36. Rev. Canon Thorneloe, Sherbrooke, P.Q. 37. Mr. C. N. Vroom, St. Stephen, N.B. 38. Rev. A. W. F. Cooper, Calgary. 39. Rev. A. G. Holmes, Lesser Slave Lake, Athabasca. 40. Mr. W. Melrose, Athabasca. 41. Rev. Canon Coombes, M.A., Winnipeg. 42. Rev. E. K. Matheson, Battleford. 43. Rev. A. H. Wright, Fort La Come. 44. Mr. F. H. Mathewson, Winnipeg. 45. Rev. H. B. Cartwright, Qu'Appelle. 46. Mr. T. Gilroy, Winnipeg. 47. Mr. W. White, Qu'Appelle. 48. Mr. H. S. Crotty, Winnipeg. 49. Mr. W. G. Fonseca, Winnipeg. 50. Mr. Jephson, Saskatchewan. 51. Rev. Canon Flett, Prince Albert. 52. Hon. Sheriff Inkster, Winnipeg. 53. Rev. J. P. Sargent, Qu'Appelle. 54. Ven. Archdeacon G. M'Kay, Prince Albert. 55. Mr. Jas. Taylor, Winnipeg. 56. Col. S. L. Bedson, Stony Mountain. 57. Rev. W. E. Brown, Qu'Appelle. 58. Rev. J. F. Pritchard, Lethbridge.

Eastern Canada with unmixed approval, and for a time Consolidation was in jeopardy.

Assembling on October 28, 1890, the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land was addressed by the Bishop on the subject. He spoke of the Conference and its Scheme as a "great step towards the union," but he was careful to state that it was not a step, as some seemed to imagine, towards separation from the Mother Church of England. And there was still a grave divergence of opinion to be seen with respect to the retention of the Provincial systems; though the Scheme had apparently been adopted unanimously by the Conference, yet there were signs, since it had broken up, of the reopening of debate on this point. He warned the Church that if the matter was again to be considered an open one, and individual Synods declined to be bound by the resolutions of the Conference, it would probably be much more difficult to get such agreement on it again.

The growth of the Diocese was shown by the large numbers attending this Synod; at this time there were 58 clergy and 90 lay delegates on the list, though all were not present. The country continued on the "up grade," land was again rising in value, settlement was increasing, and the outlook was much more hopeful. Many new churches were being built, and old ones were being enlarged or improved. Want of funds prevented the Church from placing missionaries in several new settlements, but still a large part of the field was occupied. The Indian missions were in a prosperous condition; between Easter 1889 and Easter 1890 the Bishop confirmed 300 Indians; the Indian Industrial School, established at St. Paul's, was doing well. The Bishop said to this Synod that the

Church "had reason to be proud of it." St. John's College held its ground, though its debt was a heavy burden. The old College had been abandoned, and both students and boys were now housed in the new College. Of the former there were 23, 11 of whom were theological students, and of the latter there were 55; between them the College building was crowded.

Such, in brief, was the position of the Diocese at the close of twenty-five years of the Bishop's episcopate —he had reached Red River Settlement in October 1865, and it was now October 1890. In concluding his Address to the Synod, he referred to the twenty-fifth year of his episcopate having passed, and said, "The Diocese under me is very different from that which I undertook in early years with the thought and the hope of being allowed to do some service for the cause of Christ." He had now to face difficulties which he had not then contemplated—great difficulties, but he would remain at his post so long as he felt he was able to cope with its duties. The Synod replied in a resolution: "We consider it a matter for supreme and most heartfelt thankfulness to Almighty God that this Diocese should have enjoyed for so long a period the wise guidance, the fostering care, and statesmanlike administration of our Bishop, and we should regard as nothing short of a calamity alike to the Church and the community at large any step that for many years would lead to the severance of the connection between Bishop and Diocese." This resolution was passed with acclamation, all members standing and singing "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Among the acts of the Provincial Synod of this year was one respecting the Metropolitical See of the Province. To retain it for the Diocese, the Diocesan

Synod had resolved to leave the appointment of its Bishop to the Provincial House of Bishops, having first submitted three names for their selection (see p. 354). The Provincial Synod adopted this plan, with an alteration which, Bishop Machray said to the Diocesan Synod of 1890, was more favourable to the Diocese—instead of three names to be submitted, there were to be two. The question of religious education in the primary schools of Manitoba came up again in the Bishop's Address, but he dealt with it much more exhaustively in an Address to the Synod of 1893.

It was felt in Winnipeg and throughout the country that the passing of the twenty-fifth year of the Bishop's episcopate should be marked in a fitting manner by a presentation, and a sum of $2000 (£400) was collected in a very short time. Knowing very well that the Bishop would not accept any money for himself, the committee who had the presentation in hand consulted him what was to be done, and it was arranged that a portion of the funds collected was to be spent on a fine brass lectern for the Cathedral, and the balance handed in a cheque to the Bishop, who should devote it to whatever Church object he chose to select. The presentation was made at Bishop's Court two days before Christmas 1890, by the committee, Dean Grisdale speaking for the clergy, and Mr. Wrigley, Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the laity. The Bishop, who was much moved, responded in a brief speech, touched on the past and present of the Diocese, and reiterated his intention to remain as its Bishop so long as he felt able to do justice in any way to the demands of the position. The lectern was bought, suitably inscribed, and placed in the Cathedral; the cheque for the balance was for

over $1500 (£300); this sum the Bishop from other gifts made up to $2000, and gave to the Endowment Fund of St. John's College. This presentation, as an appreciation of his work by the Diocese, and as a token of the goodwill of all classes in the country, greatly encouraged the Bishop.

So far this narrative has dealt chiefly with what may be called the major incidents of the Bishop's episcopate and metropolitanship; it need hardly be said that all these major incidents had depending on them a great number and variety of minor incidents, but the constant introduction of the latter—to say nothing of other small matters, small, but going to make up the sum of a man's life—would have made this biography too crowded with details and too long. But it is worth while to pause awhile to take a brief glance at him and his life from day to day.

In 1890 he was in his sixtieth year, with health still perfect, intellect of exceptional vigour, force of character that had grown with the years, a capacity for work unabated and astounding, and a wide and deep experience in dealing with men and affairs—in a word, a great personality. His tall figure had filled out, and was at once striking and commanding. His unusual height, his face with its beautifully domed forehead, now lined, his fine eyes, powerful nose, great moustaches and beard turning white, instantly attracted attention wherever he went. He looked the leader of men he was. His habitual expression was thoughtful, serious, a little anxious, seldom severe. At times when the tender or humorous side of life appealed to him his expression changed wonderfully—the eyes grew soft with sympathy or sparkled with laughter. He knew how to deal with the boys of the College School, whose

Head Master he was for so long, not less well than with the clergy and laity of the Diocese, whose Synods he "managed" with a light but firm hand. Regarding this capacity for controlling men, Archbishop Matheson sends the following:

By means of a little quiet humour he had a wonderful faculty of relieving a situation at meetings when matters had become tense, and angry feeling was developing. I remember an instance of this at a meeting of the Synod. A very worthy clergyman was speaking of the danger of taking books "without care and examination" from a certain Church depository. In a very dramatic manner, with an almost tragic tone, he exclaimed:

"Fancy, your Grace and gentlemen, what happened to me at one of my country appointments. I gave as a prize to one of the children a Prayer Book brought from this very depository. It was a district filled with the staunchest of Protestants; in fact, the father of the child was an Orangeman. I wrote the name of the child in the book, but, fortunately, before giving it I happened to turn over the leaves and, will you believe it, I discovered on the next page nothing short of a picture of the Virgin Mary!"

Amid the silence which followed, the Archbishop paused, as if waiting for something to happen, and then said:

"Mr ——, what was the matter with the picture? Was it badly drawn?" and then added, as the silence continued, "We will now go on with the next business." The party spirit which was being aroused in defence of the Church depository was drowned in the laughter which followed.

On another occasion an aged clergyman was criticising some of the younger men for lack of pastoral visitation. His remarks were causing some irritation and were likely to call forth some sharp rejoinders. He ended by exclaiming, "Why, my lord, I have known myself to drive twenty-eight long miles into a lonely district to visit one lone woman, and I never returned empty. I generally had a bag of oats or something else put into my buggy." Looking up with a twinkle in his

eye the Bishop asked, "Mr. ——, about how many times in the year did you visit that lone woman? — not too often, I hope."

About the beginning of the 'eighties the Bishop ceased to live in the College—the "old College"—and took up his residence in Bishop's Court, the very moderate-sized wooden building, originally constructed of logs, which repeated alterations and improvements, always at his own expense, had made into a fairly habitable dwelling. Here he did most of his work, rising betimes in the morning and going late to bed, living the simplest of lives. His forenoons were occupied with correspondence, lectures in the College, and classes in the College School; frequently his dinner was that of the College students and boys. At this time he was taking Higher and Ordinary Mathematics with the students preparing for the University, as well as helping with other University subjects. As the writer had been compelled by ill-health to resign the chair of Ecclesiastical History, the Bishop again took up the Professorship, adding part of its stipend to the Endowment for it. These lectures made him acquainted with the students. A large part of the care of the College School had now been handed over to Canon Matheson, the Deputy Head Master, who resided in a house attached to the old College, but the Bishop still saw to the general supervision. As has been said, the old College was abandoned in 1890, and has since been pulled down.

In the afternoons there were lectures or work for the school, interviews, committee meetings, calls to receive or make—an endless business repeated each week-day. In the evenings there were letters, often very long, to write—his correspondence was large and

he had no secretary—lectures to prepare, exercises to correct, problems to set, plans to make, and the like. So would pass Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays. On Saturdays there was Sunday's duty to be prepared for—sermons and addresses. He generally had a very full day's work on Sunday, a Confirmation or other Service somewhere in the Diocese, often involving much travelling by either train or buggy. A life of hard work—always. To him the "office of a Bishop was not so much one of honour as of work," as he once said, quoting from St. Bede.

In the proper sense of the term he had no relaxations, and certainly he had no amusements. But he had one hobby. Bishop's Court had a fine old garden, and he took some pleasure out of it occasionally by trying to induce some long-irresponsive fruit-trees to grow—no easy matter in that semi-arctic winter climate. Several times, and at considerable expense, he brought numbers of these fruit-trees to Winnipeg from the south, and had them planted in his garden; sometimes they bore fruit, and then he was as pleased as a little child. At first, more often than not, they died from grasshoppers or other pests, blight, or frost, but towards the end he had quite a little orchard of apple-trees. This hobby of his had its useful side; he wished to prove that, if proper care were taken, Manitoba was a fruit country as well as a wheat country. The following anecdote, apropos of this hobby, is sent by Archbishop Matheson:

Illustrative of his regard for boys, his love for his garden, and pride in his apple-trees, almost the only apple-trees bearing fruit in Manitoba at the time, I will tell you what happened when I called to see him in the autumn before his death, when

he walked with extreme difficulty, on account of the weakness in his back, by the aid of two sticks.

"Have you seen my tree with the large apples on it?" he asked. "They are perfect beauties; come out with me, and I'll show them to you."

With that he led the way to the garden. When he entered it, and had proceeded some distance towards the apple-tree, he exclaimed:

"Oh, these naughty boys! . . . The apples are all gone; let us go back."

Noting his great disappointment, I felt indignant with the boys and remarked:

"Why, your Grace, don't you get a dog, and keep him in your garden to protect it?"

"Matheson, the dog might bite the boys," he replied, and quietly wended his way back to Bishop's Court.

During 1890 a Church monthly paper or magazine was started, called the *Rupert's Land Gleaner*, under the editorship of Canon O'Meara and the Rev. W. A. Burman. From the number for January 1891 is taken a list of some of the Bishop's engagements during a fortnight of his life at this time:

January 6.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the Provincial Advisory Board of Education.

January 7.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the (University) Isbister Trustees.

January 9.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Diocese.

January 11.—The Bishop preached a sermon for Indian Missions at Holy Trinity, Winnipeg.

January 12.—The Bishop in the morning celebrated the Holy Communion in the Cathedral, and delivered an address on missions; in the evening, took the chair at a missionary meeting in Winnipeg.

January 16.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the Indian Missions Committee.

January 17.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the committee of the Provincial Synod on Canons.

January 20.—The Bishop presided at a meeting of the C.M.S. committee for the Province of Rupert's Land.

Undoubtedly the most outstanding event in the history of the Church in Rupert's Land in 1891 was the Consecration of the Ven. Archdeacon Reeve as Bishop of Mackenzie River. Bishop Bompas, on the further division of the original See of Athabasca, to which he had gone in 1874 as first Bishop, elected to retain that portion of it called Selkirk (Yukon), and relinquished the title of Bishop of Mackenzie River to the new Bishop. Dr. Reeve was consecrated at Winnipeg, on November 21, by the Bishops of Rupert's Land, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan and Calgary, and the Bishop of North Dakota (Dr. Walker), and the Assistant Bishop of Minnesota (Dr. Gilbert). Bishop Reeve was a missionary of the C.M.S., who had done excellent and arduous work in the far north. The chief event of 1892 was the resignation of Bishop Anson, whom a sense of duty compelled to retire. "He did not retire, however, till he had left a happy memorial of his episcopate in the completion of an endowment of £10,000 ($50,000) for the Bishopric" of Qu'Appelle, as Bishop Machray, referring to him, said to the Provincial Synod of 1893.

Early in 1893 the great missionary Bishop of Moosonee, Dr. Horden, died. In May of that year the Rev. William John Burn, Vicar of Coniscliffe, near Darlington, was appointed Bishop of Qu'Appelle in succession to Bishop Anson, who had returned to England; Bishop Burn was consecrated in London by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson); the Bishops of London (Dr. Temple), Bangor (Dr.

Lloyd), Christ Church (Dr. Julius), St. Andrews (Dr. Wilkinson) ; and Bishops Mitchinson (formerly of Barbadoes) and Anson. In August 1893 the Rev. Jervois Newnham, a graduate of McGill University, Montreal, was appointed Bishop of Moosonee in succession to Dr. Horden ; his Consecration took place in Winnipeg, the officiating prelates being the Bishops of Rupert's Land, Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Calgary, Qu'Appelle, and North Dakota. So, in the late summer of 1893, the tale of the Bishops of the Province was complete : Dr. Machray, Rupert's Land ; Dr. Bompas, Selkirk ; Dr. Young, Athabasca ; Dr. Pinkham, Saskatchewan and Calgary ; Dr. Reeve, Mackenzie River ; Dr. Burn, Qu'Appelle ; Dr. Newnham, Moosonee—seven Bishops and eight Sees.

Diocesan Synods were held on October 28 and 29, 1891, and on January 11, 12, and 13, 1893. The Bishop was able to announce that the General Endowment Fund of the Diocese had been raised by several thousand dollars from gifts, including a donation of $1000 from a "Manitoba farmer," and large grants from the S.P.G. (£500) and the S.P.C.K. (£1000). The annual income from this Fund now amounted to about $2500 (£500). But the missionary needs of the Diocese were ever increasing, and there was the usual struggle about ways and means ; for the first time for some years the funds for the missions were insufficient, the deficit amounting to over $2000. To organise more thoroughly the Diocese from the point of view of contributing to the missions, a General Missionary, the Rev. George Rogers, who had been Rector of Brandon, was appointed. The sum to be raised in the country for home missions in the year 1893-94 was placed at $6000 (£1200). The General

Photo Elliott and Fry, London.

BISHOP BURN.

BISHOP NEWNHAM.

Photo Purdy, Boston.

BISHOP REEVE.

Endowment Fund of the College had been increased to £10,000 ($50,000), but the debt incurred in building remained the same heavy burden, about £12,000 ($60,000). To cope adequately with the University work taxed the resources of the College, but the local Government had passed an Act providing for a University Professoriate which, when established, would relieve the strain on St. John's and the other Colleges. These were the main points in the Bishop's Addresses, with the exception of two subjects —religious education in the primary schools and Church Consolidation.

With respect to the question of religious education in the common schools, the Bishop spoke at considerable length to the Synod of 1893, and his observations were afterwards published and widely distributed in pamphlet form. Having admitted that a good secular education was a necessity, he asked what was its effect when unaccompanied by religious instruction. There were data available for answering this question : such an education had existed in France for ten years, and in the Colony of Victoria for twenty ; full evidence had been collected of the effects of non-religious education in these countries. The Bishop tabulated certain inferences from these effects : pure secular education leads to a growing want of appreciation of the importance of religion, to a growing want of familiarity with Scripture, to a deterioration of tone and character in the young ; the attempt to teach morals apart from the Bible fails, and the efforts to supply religious instruction independently of the schools fail ; a system of pure secular education fails to be a genuinely national system. Referring to the primary schools of Manitoba, the Bishop said that

there was no religious instruction in them, but on the other hand there were, as part of the routine of the schools, a prayer concluding with the Lord's Prayer, a reading from the Bible, and the inculcation of the Ten Commandments—"not small things in themselves," but not enough from the Church point of view. For the present, however, the Church was helpless; all its efforts being centred necessarily on the support of its missions, there were no funds for separate Church schools. "But," said the Bishop, "if things remain as they are, and still more if they get worse, our clergy must be very different from the 20,000 clergy of the Mother Land, if after some years, when it becomes practicable, they do not encourage schools of our own."

As late as January 1893, it was a little doubtful, owing to the attitude of some portions of the Church in Eastern Canada on the Provincial Synods Question, if the projected Consolidation of the Church would be carried further. The Bishop's attitude was shown in the closing words of his Address to the Synod of 1893:

> The confederation scheme was considered by the Provincial Synod of Canada, and has again been sent down by it for the consideration of its Diocesan Synods. It is impossible to say what changes may still be proposed, and what may be the attitude of our Provincial Synod to these and to the changes already approved by the Provincial Synod of Canada. We, of course, can only be bound by the action of our own Province. Whether, however, a General Synod meets in September or not, it seems desirable that this Synod should elect representatives.

CHAPTER XVIII

PRIMATE OF ALL CANADA

1893–1895

In many respects 1893 was the wonderful year of the life of Bishop Machray; the spring saw him receive the only special distinction which was in the power of the Sovereign to bestow on a Colonial Bishop, and the autumn beheld him elected, by the unanimous choice of his brother Bishops, to the highest position in the Church of England in Canada. He was informed by the Earl of Derby, then Governor-General of the Dominion, that on March 9 he had been appointed "Prelate of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George" by Queen Victoria. The Order was founded in 1818 by George IV. when Prince Regent, in commemoration of the republic of the Ionian Isles being placed under British protection; it was reorganised after the Ionian Isles were ceded to Greece, and it was made to include men who had rendered special services to the Empire in the Colonies or in connection with Foreign Affairs. Bishop Machray's immediate predecessor was Bishop Austin of Guiana; Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, afterwards of Lichfield, and Bishop Perry of Melbourne, had also been Prelates of the Order. At that time Mr. Gladstone was Prime

Minister and the Marquis of Ripon Colonial Secretary —the former a Liberal and High Churchman, the latter a Roman Catholic ; Bishop Machray was a Conservative and an Evangelical, and when he received the intimation of his appointment he was surprised, but neither State nor Church politics had anything to do with it. It was a recognition of his work in the Canadian North-West, and probably the action of the British Government was inspired by the chiefs of the S.P.G. To the Bishop it was "an unlooked-for honour." Writing to Mr. Jones, his Commissary, he said : "I did not know that any one connected with the disposal of such an honour knew sufficiently of me or my work to have thought of me. The Queen's Warrant and the Badge of Office came on Saturday, Easter Eve ; so as I was preaching in the morning in the Cathedral I wore the Badge on Easter Sunday."

In the letter to Mr. Jones, referred to above, there are some glimpses of the anxieties and preoccupations of the Bishop at this time :

> We have again several vacant missions, and two or three others to which we wish to appoint clergymen, but we have several students (of St. John's College) soon to be ordained, so that I do not think at present of seeking men in England for ordination. . . .
>
> We have had a very trying time on account of the appearance of scarlet fever, first in the residence of Canon Matheson, Deputy Head Master of the College School, and then in College. We broke up all classes for a week and then resumed. The College work has gone on without further break ; one student took the fever about eight weeks ago. But a fresh case among the boys made us break up the College School again. . . .
>
> We have practically lost the income of a term, with heavy

expenses about buildings, etc. What makes the matter more trying is that we were more than full in College, and had the largest attendance of students and boys we ever had—about 40 students and over 70 boys.

As to finances apart from this mishap, we were promised before the end of last year several hundred dollars more than we required for claiming £1500 ($7500) from the Church Societies, but, unfortunately, we find great difficulty in getting in the amount. . . . You will see by our Synod Report that we are to start an effort for paying off £3000 ($15,000) of the debt on the College. I have the promise of £500 towards making up this sum, and I rather hope that a friend who promised, if necessary, £200 towards meeting the £1500 (from the Societies) may also give it for our new effort. We shall always be uncomfortable and in hazard of difficulty till we get clear of our College debt.

The Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land met in Winnipeg on August 9 and 10, 1893, the Bishops present being those of Rupert's Land, Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Calgary, Qu'Appelle, and Moosonee —the Bishop of North Dakota was a guest. After alluding in his Metropolitical Address to the retirement of Bishop Anson, the death of Bishop Horden, the establishment of the new Diocese of Selkirk, and the appointment of Bishops Reeve, Burn, and Newnham to their Sees, Bishop Machray stated that the main work of this Synod was the confirming what had been done at the last Provincial Synod (1890) with respect to the General Synod. Certain changes had been made in the Constitution of the Province, by which such power as was claimed for the General Synod by the "Winnipeg Scheme" of Consolidation was conveyed legally to the General Synod; these changes had now to be considered a second time, accepted or rejected. The Provincial Synod lost very little time

over the matter, its mind having been fully made up and declared at its previous meeting; the changes in the Constitution were voted, and so passed into law. Thus when the Bishops and clerical and lay delegates of Rupert's Land to the General Synod went to Toronto a month later to attend the General Synod, they stood committed to the General Synod. The attitude of the Church in Eastern Canada was not quite the same; its Bishops and delegates went to Toronto rather to debate as to the establishment of such a Synod than committed to it, though favourably inclined on the whole towards its formation.

This in every way memorable and important Synod assembled at Toronto on Wednesday, September 13, 1893, the opening service being held in the Choir of St. Alban's Cathedral. Bishop Machray preached the sermon from Deut. xxxi. 6, "Be strong and of a good courage." In the course of his remarks he observed:

> There are, I believe, various questionings as to the business, position, and uses of a General Synod. Some, perhaps, are anxious for a Court that can give decisions on matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline. Others, on the contrary, are apprehensive of too much legislation with the General, Provincial, and Diocesan Synods. I think most of us in the West are neither wishful for such legislation nor apprehensive of too much of it. We certainly do not insist on the retention of our Provincial Synod with any view of encouraging it. Indeed, we expect this Synod to be a check on any action of the General Synod which may be unacceptable to our people, or for which they may not be prepared. We are looking forward to a General Synod simply for united practical work, through the systematising, unifying, and consolidating of the work of the Church in its various departments, for the provision of any additional Services, so that there may be, if possible, a uniformity of use throughout the Dominion, and for giving

expression to the mind of the Church on social, moral, and religious questions as may be needed. And we believe each of the Synods in its own place can materially second and advance this common work. . . .

First of all, what a grand field of work is before a United Church, as a living missionary Church, in this growing Dominion. We inherit the great traditions of the old Province of Canada. Our Bishops have before them the devotion of a Stuart, of a Mountain, of a Strachan, of a Fulford, of a Medley. Our whole Church has the memory of a host of devoted presbyters, the pioneers in the days of extreme hardness—a hardness which the settlers of our time, not having in youth the same simple habits and hardening discipline, would not submit to. What devotion to duty, simplicity of life, and hearty sympathy with their people marked and endeared those early labourers in the backwoods and new settlements of their day! And they still call us to emulate them, for the pioneer work is not over even in old Canada. There is much ground still to be occupied—many who report themselves as members of our Church not yet reached—many missions, still weak and struggling, requiring aid.

But while these should call out sympathy and help, is there not a view to create enthusiasm in the vast field opening up in the new lands of the North-West and West? We may well feel pride in the material progress of old Canada, and infinitely more in the moral and religious condition of its hardy, healthy, industrious population. Yet old Canada seems like a fringe along the great lakes and the St. Lawrence. How vast in comparison the dimensions of the younger Province! Granted that far more than the half is for ages—perhaps for ever—hopeless in the way of settlement, still what a massive block of land remains, most of which is suitable for raising grain or stock—900 miles along the south to the west, several hundred miles towards the north! The Church in this Province has also its history illustrated by lives of great devotion. Cochran, Cowley, and Horden each gave to the work some forty years or more of loving, untiring service, and there have been results, alike in the early days of isolation

and in the past few years of settlement, that may well cheer us. . . .

In my own Diocese the Church has now a picture of what the other (Western) Dioceses will be. Only some fourteen years have passed since there was not a mile of railway in Manitoba, and now we have in the southern half of that Province practically five parallel lines of railway. The thin population that has come in is not scattered, as in old Canada, over a fringe of backwoods, but over the whole of the part of the Province that has received settlement. There are now 80 clergy in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and most of these are in missions needing help. The Diocese of Sodor and Man (England) has 220 square miles—these missions are commonly larger; some of them have each about 400 square miles. The growing population calls for more centres with Services and the division of the mission. Hence when a mission might be expected to be approaching the ability of self-support it has to be divided, and then a double call comes upon our mission funds. Thus, putting aside altogether advancing settlement with new fields of work, our older missions will through subdivision be for a long time imposing new duties on the Church. . . .

Surely all this mission field will have its needs much more clearly recognised and more adequately met if the whole Church has them kept before it and is made to feel its responsibility. Then there are the Indian missions. A very large sum is expended yearly on them by the C.M.S. of England. That Society, in view of other calls from heathen lands, thinks that the Church in Canada should rise to the duty, or shall I rather say the privilege, of gradually taking up those missions.

In the afternoon the Metropolitans of Canada (Dr. Lewis, the Bishop of Ontario) and Rupert's Land (Dr. Machray), the Bishops of Toronto (Dr. Sweatman), New Westminster (Dr. Sillitoe), Fredericton (Dr. Kingdom), Algoma (Dr. Sullivan), Huron (Dr. Baldwin), Athabasca (Dr. Young), Niagara (Dr. Hamilton), Saskatchewan and Calgary (Dr. Pinkham),

Nova Scotia (Dr. Courtney), Quebec (Dr. Dunn), Qu'Appelle (Dr. Burn), and Columbia (Dr. Perrin) met the clerical and lay delegates in the Convocation Hall of Trinity University, Toronto. The Metropolitan of Canada delivered a short Address, in which he spoke of himself as the oldest missionary of the Church in the meeting, and added, "When I commenced my work exactly forty-four years ago as a missionary of the S.P.G. on the banks of the Ottawa River, there was no Diocese of the Church of England west of the Diocese of Toronto except the Diocese of Rupert's Land, which was then being organised; and eastward there were but three Dioceses—Nova Scotia, Fredericton, and Quebec—within the limits of the present Dominion of Canada. To-day we meet to unite if possible nineteen or twenty Dioceses into one organic whole." The Bishops having withdrawn, Dean Grisdale (Rupert's Land) was chosen temporary chairman of the meeting, and the roll of delegates was called; it is certainly worth while to give the names:

CLERICAL.—*Eastern Canada*—Canon Partridge, Archdeacon Smith, Archdeacon Kaulbach, Archdeacon Weston Jones, Dean Norman, Archdeacon Roe, Canon Thornloe, Provost Body, Dr. Langtry, Archdeacon Allen, Canon du Moulin, Archdeacon Brigstocke, J. de Soyres, Canon Neales, Dean Carmichael, Archdeacon Lindsay, Archdeacon Evans, Canon Mills, Dean Innes, Canon Davis, Principal Miller, Archdeacon Lauder, Archdeacon Bedford-Jones, Rural Dean Bogert, Canon Spencer, Archdeacon Dixon, E. M. Bland, Canon Sutherland, Rural Dean Llwyd; *Rupert's Land*—Dean Grisdale, Canon O'Meara, Canon Pentreath, Archdeacon Fortin, Archdeacon M'Kay, A. W. F. Cooper, W. A. Burman, J. P. Sargent; *Columbia*—G. W. Taylor; *New Westminster*—H. G. Fiennes-Clinton.

LAY.—*Eastern Canada*—Hon. Justice Ritchie, Dr. R. W.

Heneker, Hon. H. Aylmer, Hon. G. W. Allan, A. H. Campbell, J. A. Worrell, N. W. Hoyles, Hon. Justice Hanington, Chancellor Bethune, Dr. L. H. Davidson, Dr. Alex. Johnson, Major Bond, Charles Jenkins, Richard Bayly, Matthew Wilson, Judge Ermatinger, Chancellor Walkem, Judge Macdonald, Judge Wilkinson, R. Vashon Rogers, Judge Senkler, Archdale Wilson, Dr. Bridgland; *Rupert's Land*—J. H. Brock, Sheriff Inkster, H. S. Crotty, A. F. Eden, J. A. Machray, T. E. Birbeck; *Caledonia*—Dr. Praeger; *New Westminster*—W. Myers Grey.

Four delegates were added to the above on September 14. CLERICAL.—*Eastern Canada*—Archdeacon Marsh; *Rupert's Land*—Septimus Jones. LAY.—*Eastern Canada*—James Dunbar and John Hoodless.

The delegates passed a resolution that, as it was most desirable that the Bishops should be present with them till the Synod was constituted, there should be a joint Conference, and to this the Bishops agreed, naming the next day for it. Accordingly, there was a joint meeting on the Thursday morning, when a committee was appointed "to draft a resolution solemnly declaring the position of this Body as empowered by the Diocesan Synods, and assembled in pursuance of the action of the Winnipeg Conference." The committee consisted of Bishop Machray, the Bishops of Toronto and New Westminster, and twelve clerical and twelve lay delegates—Bishop Machray, as a Metropolitan, being its chairman. In the afternoon the committee brought in its report, Dr. Machray acting as its spokesman. At this meeting all the Bishops of the Church in the Dominion were present, with the exception of the Bishop of Montreal (Dr. Bond, afterwards Archbishop), who was recovering from an illness, and the Bishops of Moosonee (Dr. Newnham), Mackenzie River (Dr. Reeve), Selkirk (Dr. Bompas), and Caledonia (Dr. Ridley). Bishop Machray prefaced the

reading of the report by stating that the three declarations it contained had been agreed to unanimously as the fundamental principles on which the General Synod was to be formed. These declarations were :

1. A Solemn Declaration that the Church of England in Canada desired to continue an integral part of the Anglican Communion, adhering to and upholding all the distinctive tenets and features of the Mother Church.

2. The General Synod, when formed, did not intend to, and should not, take away from or interfere with any existing rights, powers, or jurisdiction of any Diocesan Synod within its own territorial limits.

3. The Constitution of a General Synod involved no change in the existing system of Provincial Synods, but the retention or abolition of the Provincial Synods was left to be dealt with according to the requirements of the various Provinces as to the Provinces and the Dioceses within such Provinces seemed proper.

The Constitution submitted in the Report differed but slightly from that suggested by the Winnipeg Conference.

Bishop Machray read the Report of the committee, which began with the statement that the assembly of Bishops and delegates was in a position to declare itself a General Synod on the above basis, subject to amendments agreed to at that session. The Bishop moved, seconded by Dr. Davidson (Montreal), that the Report be adopted, and that in accordance with it "We, the Bishops of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, together with the Clerical and Lay Delegates present, do hereby declare that we do now constitute a General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada." The resolution was adopted

unanimously, and immediately afterwards the Doxology was sung, all present rising. Thus was the General Synod brought into being, and the Consolidation of the Church in Canada successfully accomplished, September 14, 1893, being the ever-memorable date. Next morning, Canon Pentreath (Rupert's Land) moved, seconded by Dean Carmichael (Montreal), a resolution that voiced the feelings of both Eastern Canada and Western: "That whereas the union of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada has been happily consummated, and whereas the said union has caused great joy in many hearts, therefore be it resolved, that the General Synod, in devout thankfulness to Almighty God, sets apart an evening for a solemn Service of Thanksgiving, and respectfully requests the Lord Bishop of Toronto, in consultation with the other Bishops, to take order for a Service of Thanksgiving in such form as he deems expedient."

It is unnecessary to describe the doings of this, the First General Synod of Canada in detail; at times, discussion on the Report of the committee was animated —"heated" once or twice, but a fine spirit of goodwill and tolerance characterised the assembly. In the end the Constitution drafted by the Winnipeg Conference was passed without substantial change. Perhaps the most important alteration—certainly the most striking—was introduced by a motion of the Bishop of Toronto, and carried by forty-three votes to twenty, to the effect that the head of the united Church was to be styled "Primate of All Canada and Metropolitan of his own Province, and Archbishop of the See over which he presides." Later (see next paragraph) it was resolved that the Metropolitans of the Church in Canada should all be styled Archbishops.

As the styling a Bishop Archbishop does little more than assign a certain precedence to him with respect to Bishops not so styled—*primus inter pares* (the head of the Scottish Episcopal Church is styled the Primus)—the change was more in name than in anything else, but it was a new departure as regards the Anglican Church outside England and Ireland.

The Constitution provided that the Bishops should form the Upper House, and the Clerical and Lay Delegates the Lower; on September 18 the Synod resolved itself into the two Houses. Next day the Upper House requested a joint session of the two Houses, which the Lower House at once agreed should take place immediately. When the Bishops entered the Lower House, it was noticed that Bishop Machray came last, and then that he took the chair as President of the Synod — heretofore the Metropolitan of "Canada" had presided. By the President's direction the Secretary of the Upper House read this message from the Upper: "The President of the General Synod begs to inform the Prolocutor that under the Constitution, on the motion of the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of Canada, the Most Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land was unanimously elected the Primate." This first historic message of the Upper House was followed by another, equally historic: "The President of the General Synod begs to inform the Prolocutor that, the Lower House concurring, this Synod directs that the Metropolitan of each Province now in existence, or as hereafter created, shall be designated Archbishop of his See as well as Metropolitan of his Province." When the Bishops had retired to their House the Lower House considered and concurred in the above.

Thus Dr. Machray became Primate of All Canada and Archbishop of Rupert's Land. Congratulations poured in upon him from all quarters. The appointment was in every way a most popular one, and the liveliest satisfaction was expressed with it everywhere; in the West, especially, was it hailed with joy and enthusiasm as the crowning recognition of the life-work of "The Bishop"—not for some time did the West get comfortably into the way of speaking of him as "The Archbishop." When the Archbishop returned to Winnipeg he was given a great reception by its citizens, with Sir John Schultz, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, at their head; Sir John was an old friend, being no other than that Dr. Schultz who figured conspicuously as a Canadian loyalist during the Red River Rebellion (see pp. 180, 182, 197), and had since become very prominent in Canadian politics.

Writing to a friend, the Archbishop described the General Synod as "most happy and harmonious." Referring to the use of the title Archbishops for Metropolitans, "the usual and ancient title for Metropolitans," he wrote:

> How this will be received in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others we do not know, but there was but one opinion among clergy and laity of the advisability, indeed of the urgency, of the step. Two or three Bishops, remembering the apparently unfriendly attitude of both the present and the late Archbishops to the consideration of the matter at the Lambeth Conferences, suggested care, but the Houses would not hear of this. So whatever opinion may be entertained in England, this resolution is irrevocably passed. . . .
>
> The House of Bishops unanimously elected me Primate of All Canada—the word All is introduced, as "Canada" is the title of the Church in the limited portion of the Dominion, old Canada, now the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. . . .

Much responsibility is added to me and more work, and I fear, what I have always shrunk from and avoided to the utmost, public appearances. Still grace is promised for the need if sought aright. . . .

The next General Synod meets in Winnipeg in September 1896. What an insight this gives into the growth and influence of this city and country !

Addressing the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land in June 1894, the Archbishop declared that the Constitution which had been adopted by the General Synod was eminently satisfactory to the Province of Rupert's Land. It was necessary that the arrangements for the appointment of the Bishops of the Province should remain with the Province, and that the Province should be able to suspend the application of coercive measures that were not acceptable. "There was a risk of opposition," he said, "to such concessions. There is an attractiveness in the simplicity of a single authority, and a natural fear of weakness in allowing non-concurrence in its decisions. But better counsels prevailed." Further on in his Address he said, "While we have reason to feel satisfied with securing these Provincial safeguards, it is not that we apprehend any necessity for their exercise, or that we do not appreciate the desirability of conforming, if possible, to the decisions of the majority. The Consolidation of the Church has been heartily welcomed throughout the Dominion, and seems to have met with the cordial approval of the whole of the Church of England."

Archbishop Machray, in the letter quoted above, said : "How this will be received by the Archbishop of Canterbury we do not know," but he had written to Archbishop Benson on October 5, 1893, giving an

account of the General Synod, of his election to the Primacy of Canada, and of the action of the Canadian Church with respect to the styling of its Metropolitans Archbishops. Archbishop Benson, in replying to this letter, said : "Your own election to the Primacy was in the nature of things. After your great services nothing else was to be expected," but he did not take kindly to the new state of affairs, as appeared later in the *Life* written by his son, Mr. A. C. Benson, vol. ii. pp. 474 ff. Mr. Benson wrote of his father :

Some two years later (*i.e.* two years after 1891) an announcement suddenly reached him in an informal and, as he thought, disrespectful way that the two Canadian Provinces (*sic*) had conferred the title of Archbishop upon their respective Metropolitans. A voluminous correspondence ensued. If the tone of the few letters I extract seems abrupt or over vehement, it must be remembered that the friends to whom he wrote knew him well enough not to mistake for controversial or personal animus what was merely a frank expression of rigid principles of ecclesiastical government. (Then followed the subjoined extract from Archbishop Benson's diary):

"*Oct.* 16, 1893.—About now I received on a half-sheet of foreign notepaper, signed by 'Canon A. Spencer,'[1] the information on behalf of the Synod of the Canadian Church, that they had appointed the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Bishop of Ontario to be Archbishops. Lightly done! A day or two after a letter from the Bishop of Rupert's Land saying the same, and that the chief reason for their unanimity was that the Papists had Archbishops. I have not yet ascertained whether Provincial Synods have in the past done this kind of thing. The last Lambeth Conference apparently did not suppose they could. It will make no difference to Canterbury. But certainly the 'Church of Canada' is not a very courteous body."

[1] Clerical Secretary of the Lower House of the General Synod.

Archbishop Benson's views were evident also from a letter, also quoted by Mr. Benson in the *Life* of his father, which was addressed to the Bishop of Bloemfontein on January 25, 1894: "I am also quite persuaded that the Lambeth Conference will not accord precedence to Metropolitans who have simply taken to themselves the title of Archbishop without reference to the Conference." Archbishop Benson died before the assembling of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, but as a matter of fact that Conference did declare for Metropolitans being styled Archbishops. Perhaps it is enough to say this, adding that the subsequent history of the Church in Canada shows quite sufficiently that "this kind of thing" was not "lightly done," to use Archbishop Benson's phrases, but it may be pointed out that it was not the Provincial Synods that conferred the title of Archbishop on their Metropolitans, but the General Synod of the united Church in Canada. The only reflection which the Consolidation of the Canadian Church—from the Church point of view, a momentous fact—called forth apparently in the "private mind" of the ecclesiastical head of the English Church was, judging from the extract given by Mr. Benson from the Archbishop's diary, that "the 'Church of Canada' was not a very courteous body"! Of course, there was no intentional slight in the famous "half-sheet of foreign notepaper," and though the matter somehow provokes a smile, it must be admitted that the Archbishop of Canterbury should have been treated with more ceremony.

With respect to the styling of Metropolitans Archbishops by the Church in Canada, the general feeling of Churchmen in England was seen in a leading article in the *Guardian*, the most influential organ of the

Church of England, which appeared on October 18, 1893:

We congratulate the Canadian Church in being the first of the daughter Churches of the Anglican Communion to take this important step, which, we have reason to believe, will be taken before long by more than one of the other Colonial Churches. It is important, not only or chiefly because of the unquestionable dignity which the title confers on the Metropolitans of Provinces rapidly growing in population, but because it has a direct bearing on the difficult question of jurisdiction, which has more than once agitated the Colonial Churches. By the law of the Church, we believe, the mere title of Archbishop does not give the holder of it any precedence or primacy above other Metropolitans. It would indeed be strange if a title which is not borne by the Bishop of Rome should convey any inherent jurisdiction or dignity. But though an Archbishop, as such, is in no way superior to a Metropolitan, there is no question that, except in the case of a See eminent in itself, a Metropolitan who is only a Bishop is likely to be held by general opinion to be inferior, if not actually subordinate, to a Metropolitan who is also an Archbishop. . . .

No one is likely to dispute the primacy of honour which by natural and historical right belongs to Canterbury, and we take it that this is fully and gladly acknowledged by the Churches of Canada, South Africa, Australia, and other Provinces. But it is a very different thing to assert that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is after all in canonical *status* only a Metropolitan, possesses an inherent jurisdiction over all the Provinces into which the Anglican Church is or may be divided. He has no inherent jurisdiction over the Province of York; why should he possess it over the Province of South Africa or Australia? . . .

As a matter of fact, apart from the oath of allegiance, Canterbury has no jurisdiction of any sort within the provincial Churches of the Colonies, except in cases where a Province may, by its own free act, have conferred certain powers on the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sooner this is clearly

recognised on all hands the better, and it is because we believe that the adoption of the Archiepiscopal title by the Colonial Metropolitans will facilitate its recognition, that we welcome the proceeding of the Canadian Synod, and hope that it will be imitated in other Provinces.

As showing Archbishop Machray's appreciation of the article from which these excerpts are taken, the page of the newspaper on which it was printed was preserved by him, and was found among his papers after his death. A question respecting jurisdiction arose between him as Primate of Canada and Archbishop Benson. The latter, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was the Metropolitan of the Dioceses of British Columbia, but these Dioceses, with the exception of Caledonia, had put themselves under the General Synod of Canada, thus recognising Archbishop Machray as their Primate; in these circumstances Archbishop Machray thought the position of Archbishop Benson as their Metropolitan was anomalous, and brought the matter to his attention, with the result that some unsatisfactory correspondence ensued. Archbishop Benson, it appeared, wished still to continue Metropolitan of these Dioceses, thus ignoring the action of the Dioceses themselves and of the General Synod. Relations between the two Archbishops were somewhat strained, and when Archbishop Machray, during a short visit to England in 1896, was invited to stop at Lambeth Palace by Archbishop Benson, he accepted the invitation with some hesitation. However, when they met, Archbishop Benson put the Canadian Primate at his ease by addressing him as "Your Grace," and showing him every mark of consideration. Referring to this episode, Archbishop Machray said to his Diocesan Synod in 1897,

after Archbishop Benson's death, "I cannot but express my sense of the marked kindness of the late Archbishop during my visit to England last year. He asked me to come to him as soon as I reached England, and he set apart an apartment for me at Lambeth, which I could occupy during my visit when I desired."

After some years of steady growth and prosperity Manitoba suffered a check, made all the worse by its coinciding with a period of depression in Toronto and Eastern Canada generally. The harvest was disappointing in 1893 and 1894, and though the crops were good in 1895 the prices received for them were very low. Naturally the Church's work, especially in the missions in the newer settlements, suffered very heavily, and the Mission Fund again showed a considerable deficit—in 1894 it amounted to about $2000, and in 1895 to $4250 (£850). Diocesan Synods were held in June 1894, and in June 1895; at both of them the Bishop's Addresses were largely taken up with a discussion of the finances of the Diocese, their unsatisfactory position causing "great misgiving and alarm." The English Societies continued and even increased their grants temporarily, though the S.P.G. spoke of reduction; the people of the country, in spite of the hard times, evinced much self-denial in the largeness of their contributions, and the General Missionary, Mr. Rogers, succeeded in raising considerable sums in Eastern Canada, but the total amount received was insufficient. It was the old story, the story with which the Archbishop was sadly familiar. Some of the weaker missions had for awhile to be given up, and all the grants in aid of others were reduced. Some time before this the C.M.S. had initiated a policy of gradual withdrawal

from the Indian missions in the country, throwing the burden of them on the Dioceses; in 1894 the Indian Industrial School at St. Paul's was taken over by the Government, as the Church found its cost too heavy. "The financial demand on us for the school was too much for us," said the Archbishop, with great regret. On the other hand, things were somewhat better with the College, which had not only recovered the ground it lost owing to the epidemic of scarlet fever, but by the sale of a portion of its lands to the city of Winnipeg for a public park had its debt reduced by $15,000 (£3000).

Both in 1894 and in 1895 the Archbishop referred at some length in his Synod Addresses to the Manitoba Schools Question. After much discussion throughout Canada, and proceedings in various courts of law, the Imperial Privy Council confirmed the legality of the Manitoba Education Acts, which did away with separate schools, but this only made the political controversy which raged round them the more acute. In the circumstances the Archbishop thought it his duty to place before the Premier of the Dominion, then Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the views of the Church in Manitoba, as they had been indicated from time to time by resolutions of the Diocesan Synod, and to protest in the strongest manner against any proposition to secularise the public schools of the country; he put forward a powerful plea for such an amount of non-sectarian religious instruction as was allowed in the Board Schools of England, non-sectarian religious instruction being defined as instruction acceptable alike to Protestant and Roman Catholic—the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the teaching and learning of selected portions of the Bible.

Speaking to the Synod of 1895, he said that after writing to the Canadian Premier he had abstained from taking further action, but he suggested to the Synod an arrangement by which religious teaching might be given when desired in the schools—"the teachers to give a limited amount of unsectarian religious teaching, and a portion of time to be set apart during school hours, when ministers or others authorised by them or by a religious denomination, would meet weekly the pupils belonging to their own denomination. He added :

> Personally I am not wedded to any particular method of securing religious instruction, nor to any particular amount of it. But considering how many desire religious instruction for their children, and will make, as soon as possible, great sacrifices for it, I think every endeavour should be made by the State to meet their wishes, as far as can be done, without inefficiency or unfairness to others ; if this is not done, parish (Church) schools will rise up here as elsewhere, as soon as people have more means, and there cannot but be with this a sore feeling of hardship.

The magnificent health which the Archbishop had enjoyed showed signs of breaking down in 1894. His strong constitution had enabled him to stand the prodigious and incessant strain of his work and its anxieties for nearly thirty years of his episcopate, with scarce a moment unoccupied from early morn till late at night, but he was now sixty-three, and the strain was bound to tell, and to tell upon him more and more with advancing years. In the summer of 1894 he went on a Visitation of the Indian missions of the C.M.S. at Fairford and Staggville, which entailed a journey during three nights of pouring rain in an open boat on Lake Manitoba, and this brought on a severe

attack of rheumatism, followed by complications that confined him to the house for three months in the ensuing winter. Dr. Young, the Bishop of Athabasca, was spending the winter in Winnipeg, and kindly took a good deal of episcopal duty off the Archbishop's shoulders. Writing of this time to the C.M.S., the Archbishop gratefully referred to the assistance given him by Bishop Young, who "took many Confirmations for me, involving very long and wearisome travel, for my Diocese is still a kingdom in size." The Archbishop was well again in the spring of 1895, and as busy as ever. In October 1895 he headed a deputation from the Canadian Church to the General Convention of the American Church, which met in Minneapolis that year to settle its Constitution, the other representatives of Canada being Bishop Burn of Qu'Appelle, Dean Carmichael of Montreal, Dean Grisdale of Winnipeg, Mr. Matthew Wilson, K.C., of Chatham, Ontario, and Mr. J. H. Brock of Winnipeg. The Convention gave the Archbishop a "tremendous reception," as an American writer expressed it.

In a letter to Prebendary Tucker, written in the late summer of 1895, the Archbishop presented an interesting summary of the progress of Manitoba:

> Fifteen years ago a railway reached Winnipeg, then a few years later came the C.P.R. How striking is the progress of the country!
>
> 1. *Education.*—It has a University with four denominational Colleges[1] and a Medical College, all with excellent buildings, a normal school, college schools, and collegiate departments of public schools for secondary education, and nearly 1000 elementary schools. If religious education from

[1] In addition to the three original Colleges—St. Boniface, St. John's, and Manitoba—there was now a fourth, Wesley College, belonging to the Wesleyans.

a Churchman's point of view is unsatisfactory, the secular teaching is excellent.

2. *Material Progress.*—There are five lines of railway nearly parallel to each other crossing the Province, besides several branch lines. Roads and bridges have been made. Even in small towns there are all modern improvements—furnaces in private houses, baths, electric light, and telephones, and in Winnipeg electric street railways.

3. *Beneficent Institutions.* — There are hospitals, lunatic asylums, infant and maternity homes, hospitals for incurables, institutions for the deaf and dumb.

And all this has been built up in a few years by a small community of new settlers, not yet 200,000 in number, who have had at the same time to build their houses and other buildings, break up land for farms, and fence their lands! The result is most surprising and creditable. It also has to bear its share of the expenses of the Dominion, and besides has its own Lieutenant-Governor, Ministers, and Deputy Ministers, a paid Legislature of 38 members, with all the expenses of the Legislature, four supreme judges, several courts with their judges and magistrates, and seventy organised municipalities with paid officers rendered necessary by a sparse population spread over an enormous area. Such is the present condition of a country which I found simply an Indian hunting-ground, valuable chiefly for fur.

Often and often in letters to various correspondents did the Archbishop express his admiration of the spirit, of the strength displayed by the people of Manitoba in their splendid efforts towards the development of their country, frequently shown in the face of great discouragement. He was very proud of them—of their courage, their perseverance, their liberality, their indomitable hopefulness; "a fine people and a generous," he wrote of them, "far beyond ordinary."

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIGHT FOR THE MISSIONS

1896–1902

During the period lying within the years 1896 and 1902 the chief feature of the Archbishop's life was a harder struggle, a keener fight than ever before for the missions in the settlements of Manitoba—a determined, even desperate, sometimes well-nigh despairing, but in the end victorious contest, the object of which was that which he had set before himself at the beginning of his episcopate—"to hold the ground for the Church." Other features of great interest there were—the Second General Synod, which was held in his See city of Winnipeg, the compromise that settled the controversy over the Manitoba schools, the formation of the Diocese of Keewatin out of the eastern portion of his Diocese, the improved position of St. John's College, and the establishment of Havergal Ladies' College, a Church institution in Winnipeg; but, important as all these were, they bulked far less largely in his life during these years than the great fight for the missions.

The country went on growing. The marvellous and unparalleled amount of railway building of which Manitoba was the theatre opened up hundreds of new

districts to settlement. Some of the existing settlements filled up somewhat more closely, while others shrank in population as the old settlers, caught by the glamour of the newer West, moved farther and farther across the prairies ; but the main characteristic of the movement of immigration was the continued and enormous spreading out of settlement very thinly over thousands of miles of lands that hitherto had not been open or available for cultivation. And wherever these new settlements appeared, there also appeared the occasion and the desire for the Services of the Church, as a proportion of the settlers were Church people and eager for its ministrations. When a clergyman came amongst them he was welcomed with such a greeting as that given Canon O'Meara of St. John's on one occasion. A woman, who had walked six miles to attend a Service, said to him, "God bless you for bringing us this Service ; it's many a year since I heard the Church of England Service, and it's just like a bit of heaven to hear the dear old words again."

How were these Services to be provided for the new centres constantly coming into being? The question the Archbishop had to answer, the fight he had to make, were not in the least novel, for they had been with him almost from the commencement of his episcopate, but never in so intense, so poignant a form as that which they assumed in and after 1896. Because not only had he to try to satisfy the needs of those ever-upspringing missions, but one of the chief sources from which had flowed the means to uphold existing and to start new missions suddenly began to run less fully, and threatened in no long time to dry up altogether. The S.P.G., the English Society which was the mainstay of the support of the missions from outside the

Diocese, announced in 1896 that they were about to reduce their grants to the Church in the Dominion, and within a few years retire from the Canadian mission field.

What was the position financially of the Diocese at this time?

Apart from twelve self-supporting churches in Winnipeg and a few other towns, the whole Diocese was in a dependent position, its clergy being maintained partly by the direct contributions of the people and partly by grants from the Home Mission Fund, the general mission fund of the Diocese. When a mission was opened in a new settlement what happened was this: it was usually begun and nursed for awhile by St. John's College-Cathedral staff, and then came a request from the people for a resident clergyman, a certain sum towards his salary being guaranteed by them, and the balance sought from the Home Mission Fund. For example, the salary of such a clergyman was about $700 to $800 (from £140 to £160) a year; of this amount the congregation of the mission gave a guarantee to raise one-half or more, and the balance, up to $300 or $400, was provided by the Home Mission Fund—so long as it had the means at its command. In 1896 there were fifty-five missions of this description. As has already been mentioned in this book, the amount at the disposal of the Fund was more than once insufficient, and the missions were only kept going by borrowings by the Fund from other Funds, which eventually had to be repaid. In 1896 the Archbishop wrote that these Funds had been repaid—"the dangerous and threatening debit balance of the Home Mission Fund has been paid off"; but this was only accomplished by the abandonment of weak

missions (*i.e.*, those missions which were unable to guarantee a sufficient sum towards the salary of a resident clergyman), and by allowing other missions, which should have been opened up, to remain unoccupied. Looking over his Diocese, the Archbishop was, as he said, for the time being painfully "conscious of falling behind in the struggle for the possession of this fertile land." For where the Church was not able to open missions, the Presbyterians and the Methodists, amply supported by subsidies from outside, were able —and did open them. It was at this moment that, to quote his words, "there came a thunderbolt from a clear sky."

On May 13, 1896, the Standing Committee of the S.P.G. passed a resolution which had been sent up by the "Applications Sub-Committee," as follows :

> The Sub-Committee have had their attention called to the large sum annually paid by the Society to the Canadian Dioceses, at the present time nearly £9000 per annum. The Sub-Committee feel that in view of the fact that all the Canadian Dioceses, excepting Caledonia, now form one consolidated Church, the poorer Dioceses have a claim on the richer far stronger than was the case before the Consolidation of the Ecclesiastical Provinces, and much more urgent than they have on the Society. To mark this their opinion the Sub-Committee have reduced those Canadian annual grants, which are not appropriated to "privileged" clergy,[1] by ten per cent. for 1897, and have further reductions in view in the following years. In some exceptional cases a portion of the reduction has been restored by a distinct vote, but the principle of which they approve has been asserted.
>
> Meanwhile the Sub-Committee recommend that the Canadian Bishops be informed that after the year 1900 the Society will look to the Canadian Church to relieve it of all its pecuniary responsibilities in the Dominion.

[1] Clergy whose incomes were guaranteed to them individually by the S.P.G.

When the Archbishop was notified of this policy of reduction by the S.P.G.—this was the "thunderbolt from a clear sky"—he immediately wrote a strong letter of protest to the Society's Secretary, Prebendary Tucker. "Surely," he wrote, "the resolution has been very hastily adopted. It would be fatal for the Church in North-West Canada, and serious even for Eastern Canada, and, I cannot but think, a grave step for the Society itself." The change in the policy of the Society filled him with amazement and consternation, but at first he did not believe it would be persisted in —he could not believe it. It seemed to him a sheer impossibility that a Society, the main reason for whose existence was the support of missions in the Colonies to colonists, could withdraw its support from Canada, especially from Western Canada, where was at this time, from the large and increasing influx of settlers, by far the most magnificent as well as the most hopeful field for that very missionary work and effort the Society had been founded to assist. Needing more assistance than ever for missions, he could not believe that the inadequate assistance which had been given was even to be taken away. This assistance in 1896—the contribution of the S.P.G.—amounted to £1600 ($8000); according to the resolution this sum would be reduced to £1440 in 1897. As the contribution from the S.P.G. was much the largest to the Home Mission Fund, being more than one-third of its whole income, it will be easily seen what the Society's policy of reduction meant to the missions—unless the Fund could be augmented from other sources.

The Home Mission Fund of the Diocese of Rupert's Land drew its income from (1) the interest of the General Endowment Fund, which then came to less

than $2000 a year ; (2) contributions from the Church people of the Diocese generally to the Fund, amounting to about $5000 ; (3) the English Societies, which were the S.P.G., giving as above, and the C.C.C.S., giving about $2200 ; and (4) Eastern Canada, contributing an amount which varied a good deal, but which at this time was about $5000 a year. It should perhaps be explained that the second item consisted of collections for the Fund, which were in addition to the sums raised in the separate missions towards the payment of the local clergymen. In 1896 the Diocese raised internally for various purposes—salaries of clergy, church-building, parsonage-building, Indian missions, and so on—the large sum of $66,000 (over £13,000), but the Home Mission Fund met the calls upon it only by withdrawing from weak missions and from new work. Threatened now with the 10 per cent. reduction of the S.P.G., it was in evil case. The S.P.G. suggested that the Home Mission Fund should look for support to Eastern Canada ; it said that the Diocese of Rupert's Land was a member of the consolidated Church in Canada, and that the consolidated Church, which in this case meant Eastern Canada, should support its missions. Theoretically the idea seemed sound. What actually happened was that Eastern Canada in 1895-96, having contributed to the Fund about $5000, in 1896-97 gave nearly a thousand dollars less—a result which the Archbishop had rather anticipated, as the Dioceses of Eastern Canada were wrapt up and pretty well exhausted in efforts for their individual missions and for the support of the poor missionary Diocese of Algoma, the special charge of the Church in Eastern Canada. When the West got money from the East for missions it was obtained by

special deputations and in the face of much opposition ; one Eastern Bishop denounced sending help to the West, because of the consequent prospective impoverishment of his own Diocesan missions. In 1898-1899 the Rupert's Land Home Mission Fund received from Eastern Canada $2000 (£400) less than in 1896. But this statement somewhat anticipates the course of the narrative ; it is given to show how accurately the Archbishop forecast the situation.

Sidney College, Cambridge, celebrated its tercentenary in June 1896, and the Archbishop, who was now Senior Fellow, was present, preached the commemorative sermon, and took part in the other proceedings that marked the occasion. During his absence from his Diocese its Synod met, with Dean Grisdale, the Archbishop's Commissary, as President. The Dean read an Address which the Archbishop had written, and in which, alluding to the occasion of his absence, he mentioned the fact that he had "enjoyed for upwards of forty years a Fellowship of Sidney, not without advantage to the work of the Church in the country." It was no secret to those who knew him well that the income of the Fellowship, and indeed the far greater part of the rest of his income, were devoted to the work of the Church ; living the simplest of lives and unmarried, he spent very little on himself or his house. He gave so much that those ignorant of the facts thought that he must be a very rich man. At this Synod a Memorial was drawn up and forwarded to the Archbishop for presentation to the S.P.G., reciting mission statistics and protesting against the proposed reduction of the Society's grants. In the Memorial it was stated that in addition to larger missions there were missions (branch-missions or

"stations") to the number of over a hundred, with an average of only twelve Church families, that in these branch-missions thirty churches had been erected, and that the withdrawal of the S.P.G. would close three-quarters of them. The Archbishop sent the Memorial to the Society, with a long covering letter; towards the end of June he attended a meeting of the S.P.G., and spoke deprecating the reduction of the grants.

While the Diocesan Synod was in session Dr. Burn, the Bishop of Qu'Appelle, died—June 18, 1896. The Archbishop had in any case not intended to make a long stay in England, and he hurried back to Winnipeg. The Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land met on August 12 at Regina in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, and sat on that and the two following days. In his Address the Archbishop referred in feeling terms to Bishop Burn's death, and said that he thought it would be well to find a successor to the vacant See in a clergyman belonging to the country if it were possible, instead of selecting one from England—a local man was more in touch with the people and their needs. The House of Bishops nominated Dean Grisdale of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and as the Lower House concurred he was appointed Bishop of Qu'Appelle. Dr. Grisdale was consecrated in Holy Trinity, Winnipeg, on August 30, the consecrating prelates being the Archbishop and the Bishops of Montreal (Dr. Bond), Toronto (Dr. Sweatman), Athabasca (Dr. Young), Saskatchewan and Calgary (Dr. Pinkham), Ottawa (Dr. Hamilton), Mackenzie River (Dr. Reeve), New Westminster (Dr. Dart), and Niagara (Dr. du Moulin).

An incident which occurred in connection with the meeting of the Provincial Synod of 1896, and which showed in a striking way the Archbishop's consideration

for Church views other than his own, is mentioned in a letter to the writer by Dr. Pinkham, the Bishop of Calgary, formerly Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary, who says :

> You probably remember your uncle's strong objection to taking the Eastward Position. I never knew him take it but once—at the meeting of the Provincial Synod held at Regina in 1896, after Bishop Burn's death, and when it was the Synod's chief duty to elect his successor. He had evidently made up his mind to take it at Regina, because it had always been the custom there ; and, as I served for him, he asked me to give him very special attention in case he made any mistake.

This Provincial Synod sent a Memorial to the S.P.G., couched in somewhat similar terms to that presented by the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land, praying the Society not to reduce its grants to Western Canada.

As will have been observed, the Consecration of Bishop Grisdale was participated in by Bishops from Dioceses of the Church that lay outside the Province of Rupert's Land ; these Bishops had come to Winnipeg to be present at the Second General Synod, which met on September 2, 1896, and lasted up to and including September 11. It had been on the motion of the Bishops of Eastern Canada that Winnipeg had been chosen as the place of meeting—at once a compliment to the Primate, Archbishop Machray, as Winnipeg was his See city and the centre of all his work, and a recognition of the growth, present and prospective, of Manitoba and the great North-West. There was a large attendance of Bishops and delegates, both clerical and lay. Eighteen of the twenty-one Bishops of Canada were present—the Archbishops of Rupert's Land and Ontario, and the Bishops of

Montreal, Toronto, Fredericton, Algoma, Huron, Athabasca, Ottawa (a new Diocese formed out of the See of Ontario), Saskatchewan and Calgary, Nova Scotia, Mackenzie River, Quebec, Columbia, Moosonee, New Westminster, Niagara, and Qu'Appelle. All the twenty Dioceses that had joined the consolidated Church were represented by delegates; one Diocese, Caledonia, stood outside the confederation, and the Diocese of Newfoundland also retained its independent position. The total membership of the Second General Synod was about 150; the numbers present were swelled by a deputation from the American Church, consisting of the Bishop of Marquette and the Assistant Bishop of Minnesota, with several clergy and laity.

On the evening of September 2 the Bishop of Nova Scotia preached the opening sermon in Holy Trinity from Rev. iii. 8. Next morning the Synod assembled in St. John's College, when Archbishop Machray delivered his Address as Primate. His remarks were very brief. After alluding to the new Diocese of Ottawa, and the business that was to be brought before the Synod, he spoke of the action of the S.P.G. as affecting the whole Canadian Church, but most of all, and most injuriously, the Church in the West. The business before the Synod was the passing of a Canon establishing a Court of Final Appeal for the whole Church in Canada, and the organisation of a General Board of Missions. With respect to the former there was much discussion, natural in any circumstances and inevitable in this particular case, because a large number of the lay delegates were gentlemen belonging to the legal profession who were greatly interested in the subject. It was finally settled that the Court should consist of all

the Bishops, with the Primate as President, and five lay assessors.

A Board of Missions was formed for all Canada, and it was intended that this Board should take the place of the missionary organisation of the Church in Eastern Canada which was known as the Domestic and Foreign Missions Society, but later it was evident, when the new Board got to work, that it was too much restricted and circumscribed to be of any special service; the "D. and F.M.S." stood in the way. This was a tremendous disappointment to the West. How little the D. and F.M.S. did for the Home Mission Fund of Rupert's Land is seen from the fact that it contributed only $250 (£50) in 1898-99, and this was its first payment since 1894-1895, when it contributed $310 (£62). An entire change in the attitude of the Church in Eastern Canada towards missions, or rather in the scope and methods of its missionary organisation, had to be brought about. This was another phase of the fight the Archbishop waged during these years for the missions; it came to an end in 1902, when the Third General Synod, at which he was absent in body but dominant in spirit, passed a Canon establishing, on the lines he desired, a Missionary Society for all Canada.

The General Synod of 1896 memorialised the S.P.G., asking the Society to reconsider their policy of reducing grants; the S.P.G. had now been sent Memorials, more or less similar, from the General Synod of Canada, the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land, and the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

Writing to the S.P.G. in the beginning of 1897 the Archbishop gave Prebendary Tucker some of his impressions of the Second General Synod. "We had

the great privilege in September of having with us in Winnipeg the General Synod. . . . This was only its second meeting; that it was held here shows the importance of Winnipeg and this country, though Canada has 5,000,000 and Manitoba only 200,000. . . . Among those present were the veteran and devoted missionaries, Archdeacon M'Donald of Mackenzie River, Archdeacon Vincent of Albany (Diocese of Moosonee), and Archdeacon Canham of Selkirk in the Arctic Circle. . . . The Synod met with a great reception in Winnipeg; there was much in it that cheered ourselves." He mentions that the Mayor and Corporation of Winnipeg gave a luncheon in the City Hall to the Synod, and that he held a reception in the Manitoba Hotel which was an enormous success. He expressed a pride in Winnipeg. "There is much to give joy and even pride in the work here." He noted the surprise expressed by the American Bishops and clergy at the position occupied by the Church in Winnipeg and Manitoba. He quoted a statement of the Bishop of Marquette, which had been published in the American *Churchman*:[1]

> The city of Winnipeg has 35,000 people and nine churches of our Communion, some of them very large indeed. I attended while there steadily the largest church, Holy Trinity, of which Archdeacon Fortin is Rector. We seldom meet with so large a church in this country (the United States). There is no church so large in St. Paul or Minneapolis, and there were no more creditable Services at our last General Convention. Holy Trinity was densely crowded on every occasion during the Synod, and so were all the other eight churches and chapels, so that a moderate estimate of the people in Winnipeg worshipping at one time at the 11 o'clock Sunday Service, or

[1] Compare Mr. Gilfillan's statement respecting Winnipeg, p. 333.

at the 7 o'clock Service, would be 5000 souls. I can think of one town in my own State equal in population to Winnipeg where our Church is called popular, having one church building only, and an average Sunday congregation of 350, if as large. The Province of Manitoba has about 175,000 people who are served by no fewer than 80 priests of our Church, and there are a great many more church buildings than clergy, the mission stations numbering over 200, I believe. I think this shows our northern sister can teach us many things. They call us there a great Church, but in many things they are greater than we.

The Archbishop pointed out to Prebendary Tucker that to the S.P.G. was due a great part of the credit for the success of the Church in Winnipeg and Rupert's Land, and did not forget to ask if the S.P.G. really intended to jeopardise much of that success by persisting in reducing their grants. In a later letter he announced his intention of being present at the Lambeth Conference of 1897, when he would again make a personal appeal to the Society. The Diocesan Synod met on May 5, 6, and 7, 1897, and the most important part of the Address with which he opened its deliberations was concerned with the action of the S.P.G. The Society had taken no notice of the Memorials. He spoke of attending the meeting of the S.P.G. in 1896, and placing before it the need of the missions. Dean Gregory of St. Paul's, replying, said that "too much had been done for old Canada, and they would not make that mistake with Western Canada." The Archbishop declared the Church in the West was in a position very different from that of the Church in old Canada; he would place the facts before the Society again. In this Address his Grace alluded to the settlement that had been effected

between the Dominion Government and that of Manitoba with respect to religious teaching in the Manitoba schools; a compromise[1] had been made by which, while the separate schools of the Roman Catholics were not re-established, a certain amount of religious instruction was permitted in the schools. "If the law, as amended, was not all that could be wished," said the Archbishop, "it was the evident intention to afford the means of religious instruction to the children of those who desire it, without interfering with the best secular education possible in the circumstances of the country."

In June the Archbishop was in England again. Late in that month he read a paper on the Church of England in Canada at the Anniversary Meeting of the S.P.G., and he had several conferences with the Society regarding their policy of reduction and withdrawal. In that year, 1897, the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated, and the Archbishop was present at the great Service at St. Paul's. He was present, too, at the meetings of the Lambeth Conference, and took a leading part in a discussion on "The Duty of the Church to the Colonies." But soon after his arrival in England he began to feel ill owing to a weakness of the heart caused by overwork; he had many invitations, but most of them had to be declined. He was better at times, and then was able to appear in public. In July he delivered an address on "The Church in Canada," which was afterwards published, with other addresses on the Church in various parts of the world, in a book entitled *The Anglican Communion* — the general theme of the work being what Bishop Barry, in a preface to it, called the Ecclesiastical

[1] Amended Manitoba Education Act, 1897.

Expansion of England. With other Bishops he went to Oxford, where he was made D.C.L. He also received the D.C.L. degree from Trinity University, Toronto, in 1893.

One of the objects for which he had gone to England was to raise funds to found the "Machray Fellowship" in St. John's College, to be held by a lecturer in Higher Mathematics; ever since the College had started he had filled that position himself. But the heart-weakness from which he suffered continued and sapped his strength; in October he was seized with pneumonia, and for some time his life was in danger, but he rallied, and gradually recovered, and by the end of the year was fairly well. In the beginning of 1898 he spent some time with the Williams-Ellises at Glasfryn, their place in Wales, gaining somewhat in health and vigour, as was shown by his old friend, Mr. Williams-Ellis, and he taking a little longer walk each day. Back again in London, he renewed his representations to the S.P.G., but his efforts to induce the Society to change their settled policy were unsuccessful. In 1898 their grant for 1899 to the Home Mission Fund of Rupert's Land was reduced to about £1100 ($5500); in 1898 the Society had so far temporarily modified their policy, in deference to him, as to make up the sum, by a special vote, to what it had been in 1897—about £1450 ($7200), but the reduction for 1899 was equal to about one-third of the sums voted for 1898. The Archbishop had to tell his Synod of 1898 (June 28 and 29) that the Society now "meet all representations with silence."

But his visit to England had borne some fruit, for he obtained funds sufficient to complete the establishing of the "Machray Fellowship" in the College, raising

in all $25,000 (£5000) for it. Mr. J. F. Cross was appointed to the Fellowship; a graduate of the University of Manitoba and also of Cambridge, he had been a student of St. John's College and brought up under the eye of the Archbishop. To him, then, the Archbishop handed over the Higher Mathematics of the College after having taught them for over thirty years.

Yet if the prospect of outside help for the missions was disappointing to him, there was satisfaction, if not compensation, in the splendid efforts put forth by the Diocese to help itself. Writing in July 1898, the Archbishop stated to the S.P.G. that the voluntary contributions of his people for all Church purposes, from Easter 1897 to Easter 1898, were $87,836, or nearly £17,600, an increase on the previous year of about $14,000, or £2800. He expressed a hope that in spite of the reduction of the S.P.G. subsidy the Church might hold the ground already occupied, but added "only to do this and nothing more is grievous." There were so many new missions crying out for occupation! He protested against the "lamentable action" of the Society, and asked if the Society were now to withdraw from the Colonies to become solely an evangelising organisation among the heathen—were they to become a different Society altogether? He drew their attention to a resolution passed by the last Diocesan Synod, in view of the fact of the Society's action, to form a committee to consider the advisability of establishing a Rupert's Land Missionary Association in England—in other words, to invade the territory from which the S.P.G. drew their funds; the Archbishop said he did not like the idea, but what if no other course were open? In a later letter he wrote: "We are losing ground." The S.P.G. had told the West

to look to Eastern Canada; the Archbishop bluntly replied that it was "no use looking" there, for no adequate help came from it. The Society at last replied in a printed Memorandum, upholding the policy of reduction, but modifying it somewhat by making the diminishing grants continue on the 10 per cent. basis of reduction annually until their extinction. The Memorandum stated:

The Society deeply regret that the pursuance of what they believe to be a wise policy should give pain to any one, and especially to the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, who has been the spokesman of the North-Western Dioceses on this subject, and for whom the Standing Committee entertain feelings of warm respect and esteem; but they cannot believe that the reductions proposed can inflict any injury on the Church, but rather good. The grant to the Diocese of Rupert's Land for 1898 is £1215, and the reduction next year £121; to Saskatchewan and Calgary £1080, and the reduction £108; and to Qu'Appelle £711, and the reduction £71; but these reductions are spread over in Rupert's Land thirty-one missions, which will lose in 1899 £4 per annum each; in Saskatchewan and Calgary over fourteen missions, which will lose next year £8 each; and in Qu'Appelle over sixteen missions, which will lose about £4: 10s. in 1899; and the future reductions, being 10 per cent. on current grants, will be less each year, and it will be a long time before the grants are extinguished.

But although these instances are quoted to illustrate the effect of the reduction, and the probable ease with which in each parish the amount may be made up, the Society cannot any longer regard one part of the Canadian Church as separate from the whole. Seeing that in 1893 the several Canadian Dioceses were welded into one organisation with its own Canons and its freedom of Synodal action, according to the opinion of the Society, definitely expressed, the richer and older parts have not only the obligation of supporting the poorer, but might well rejoice in having the opportunity of doing so. That they have not done their part must be admitted: into

the causes thereof the Society do not inquire, but naturally surmise that not the least potent may be found in the hope that the Society, yielding to importunity, might relax or abandon their declared policy.

The recent action of the Provincial Synod of Eastern Canada leads the Society to the assured conviction that the Church not only can but will provide for its needs as a whole. By the resolution of the Provincial Synod the whole of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary work is to be handed over to the (Mission) Board of the General Synod, and the Western Dioceses will for the first time have a voice in the distribution of the funds that are raised. This important movement, which the Society have for years been recommending to the Canadian Church, will certainly introduce a new order of things. The Eastern Dioceses will know the needs of the Western, and it cannot be doubted that the resources of the one will be liberally poured forth for the building up and sustaining the other, and that any apparent grievance caused by the policy of the Society will disappear.

To this Memorandum the Archbishop replied in a long (printed) letter, dated March 18, 1899, adducing once more the facts he had previously brought to the knowledge of the Society, and bringing them up to date. The central fact of the position of the Church in Western Canada, and Manitoba particularly, was the great expansion of mission work caused by the extension of railways and the consequent opening up of new lands to settlement which were being rapidly though sparsely settled. He quoted a striking instance, which was typical :

The extension of railways in Manitoba goes on with an almost increasing rapidity. In the past three years a new great trunk line, the Canadian Northern Railway, has been built through a district including nearly a fourth of the Province, hitherto only sparsely settled in spots. This railway runs for 176 miles north of Gladstone, and of these 50 miles were made

last summer. It is to be carried this summer to the Saskatchewan country, perhaps 100 miles west. Notice how this development of the country affects the Church. We have in all that country just one missionary—in the town of Dauphin—provided by your special grant of £100 in 1895, and now left on us. But the Presbyterians have already five men, and the Methodists six in that field.

After mentioning by name forty small towns and villages in Manitoba along the lines of railways that should have had, but did not have, a resident clergyman, he continued :

In the population of Manitoba of 240,000 there are many thousands belonging to foreign nationalities, but if we allow not quite one-fourth to the Church in the English-speaking settlements, there should be over 40,000 Church people who would so designate themselves in the census. Last Easter our Clergy reported 5158 families and 1880 adult members not living in families. Allowing for considerable omissions, these can scarcely represent a larger population than 27,000. This leaves one-third of our Church people outside the services of our Clergy. Thus is being reproduced with us what has so grievously injured the Church in parts of Eastern Canada—large tracts of country without any adequate provision of the means of grace by our Church for our people. Naturally in such circumstances our few members dwindle away, and, when an effort is at last made, some have formed new connections, or at any rate promised help to other bodies ; others have not sufficient interest in the Church or preference for it to venture on what for some time must call for self-denial in providing in part for the support of a clergyman and in time for the building of a church.

Turning to the figures quoted in the Society's Memorandum, the Archbishop showed that the effect of the reduction of their grants was seriously understated. The annual grant of the Society was £1215 for 1898,

but a special grant had brought up the amount to £1465. In 1899, when the reduction was in force and there was no mitigating special grant, the grant for the year was £1094, and from that sum there had to be deducted £90 voted by the S.P.G., not for missions, but for studentships in the College, leaving about £1000 for the Home Mission Fund—a net difference to the individual missions of £12, not £4 each, which was more than they could bear. He took up the Society's main point—the support now to be expected for Western missions from the Consolidation of the Church in Canada—and dealt with it at considerable length. He asserted that the Society had an imperfect conception of that Consolidation, which, in reality, had not the importance the Society attached to it. "It is at present little more than a name," said the Archbishop. The Province of Rupert's Land had given the General Synod the jurisdiction it claimed, but the "Province of Canada" had "done nothing of the kind," and in the latter Province "no attention need be paid by any Synod, Diocese, parish, or individual to any of its directions or advice." This was seen in the action of the Dioceses of Eastern Canada by which the scheme for a General Mission Board under the General Synod had been rendered useless. Further, the Society over-estimated the ability of the Church in Eastern Canada. The Archbishop wrote :

> You hear much in the newspapers of the resources of the Dominion, and the Dominion, as a Colony, is powerful and capable ; but the Church in Canada is weak, and has everywhere difficulty from the vast area over which it has to work. The Church in Australia is the dominant body, having 40 per cent. of the population. The Church in Canada has only about 13 per cent. . . . When you speak of richer Dioceses you are using

a term which has for you in England a meaning that applied to us is not true in fact. The wealthiest men in Canada are not Churchmen. The preponderating Protestant element is Scotch, not English. No doubt there are some wealthy Churchmen in Montreal and Toronto, and others scattered about, but even of this number, quite inconsiderably small as it is from an English point of view, only a proportion are liberal in giving for mission purposes. But whatever the ability of the Church in "Canada," it surely should be a very important factor in determining your action that it has no belief in its ability. We are told that it is with difficulty that the Dioceses raise what they require for their own missions. Several have had considerable deficiencies. The Church of "Canada" has not only never accepted any responsibility for us, but has made us understand that it cannot help us adequately.

The Archbishop sent copies of his reply to the Memorandum of the S.P.G. not only to their most prominent members, but to every one whom he thought interested in the subject. In his Addresses to the Diocesan Synod (June 21, 22, 23) and the Provincial Synod (August 9, 10, 11) of 1899, he referred in strong terms to the disastrous policy of the Society, which still remained unchanged. At the latter Synod it was resolved to send a Memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other English Bishops, protesting against that policy, and begging them to obtain a reconsideration of it. The Archbishop himself continued by letter to appeal to the S.P.G. Writing to Prebendary Tucker on February 27, 1900, he said that "the struggle for the missions must go on," and that as he was getting old (he was now near his seventieth year, and his health was not what it had been in former days), he would resign if necessary the struggle to a younger man, but "the struggle must go on." He referred to the great efforts made locally ; the Diocese

had raised over $100,000 (£20,000) for Church purposes in 1899, in spite of poor crops that season: the Diocese was doing nobly, but could not achieve the impossible; it must have more outside help.

The South African War furnished the Archbishop with a fresh and remarkably striking argument for England giving help to the missions. He wrote:

> It is very important for the English Church—indeed, I may say for England—to have the "Old Church" worthily started in the great land that is rising up here, for loyal as are the Canadians to the British Throne, if sacrifice is looked for it may be expected especially from English Churchmen. Though Churchmen only form 13 per cent. of the population of Canada, more English Churchmen volunteered for service in South Africa than men of other denominations combined, and of these English Churchmen a large proportion came from the West.

Addressing the Diocesan Synod of 1900, he spoke in a similar strain, and stated that twenty "old St. John's boys," including a Major of the Royal Engineers, had gone to the front.

In 1901 there was still no change in the Society's policy, but two events fell within that year which altered the situation materially. In that year Dr. Jacob, then Bishop of Newcastle, now of St. Albans, paid a visit to Winnipeg, and was the guest of Archbishop Machray, who thoroughly convinced him that the policy of the S.P.G. with regard to Western Canada was a profound mistake. On his return to England Bishop Jacob wrote to the Society that their treatment of the Western missions should be reconsidered. The other event of 1901 which had its effect on the situation was the resignation by Prebendary Tucker of the Secretaryship of the S.P.G., and the appointment in

his place of Dr. Montgomery, formerly Bishop of Tasmania, who understood very thoroughly the problems of Colonial missionary work. Writing to Bishop Montgomery early in 1902, Archbishop Machray made a fresh and full presentment of the case of Western Canada, and asked that the policy of the Society should be changed. Mission opportunities and needs were greater and more pressing than ever, and Eastern Canada was not more helpful : would not the Society at last realise that Western Canada presented the best, the choicest, and most likely-to-be-fruitful field for their assistance ? At length the Archbishop heard, "with great thankfulness," that the policy of the Society was to be reversed. That side of the fight for the missions was won. The other side was won a few months later, in the same year curiously enough—the other side which was concerned with the missionary action of the Church in Eastern Canada, which up to that time had done so little for the West. This part of the story will be related in the next chapter, in connection with the Third General Synod, which was held in September 1902.

Though the chief outside help for the missions, with respect to the salaries of the clergy, was looked for by the Archbishop from the S.P.G. and Eastern Canada, the C.C.C.S. gave much appreciated support, and steadily increased their grants to the Diocese. In 1901 this Society provided part of the stipends of fourteen clergy. The S.P.C.K. helped in other ways —by grants, amounting in the aggregate to large sums, for the building of churches in the missions, and for studentships in St. John's College. When in England in 1897 the Archbishop addressed the monthly meeting of the S.P.C.K., and spoke gratefully of the "invariable

and never-ceasing kindness" of this Society. He recalled that they had given £1500 to the College for theological professorships, £1000 to its General Endowment, and £1000 to the building of the "new College."

When all was done that could be done by the Home Mission Fund of the Diocese, supported in the various ways recorded above, the position in 1901 of the Church was, as the Archbishop wrote to the C.C.C.S., taking Winnipeg and a few towns out of the calculation, unsatisfactory and depressing: "In the country districts not half our Church members have Services. The Diocese of Sodor and Man contains 220 square miles and is served by over fifty clergymen; the average in Rupert's Land is *one* clergyman to a district of at least that area." He enlarges on the generosity of the Church people of the country, and the devotion shown by the clergy in their work, which was of the most arduous character from the size of the missions, involving much driving in all weathers.

All through this period one of the Archbishop's great anxieties was the future of the Indian missions of the Diocese. The C.M.S., which had founded these missions, were gradually reducing their grants, but funds had been collected to keep them in active life by Archdeacon Phair, who had succeeded to a large part of the Indian work of Archdeacon Cowley. The Indians themselves could do little to support the missions. In 1899 the Archbishop said to his Synod, "Any appreciable help from the Indians is hopeless. . . . In most of our missions the Indians live from hand to mouth, and, as their Reserves in this Diocese are generally unsuited for cultivation, they must be reduced, as the wild animals

decrease, to greater straits, till the Government makes some other disposition for them." The Archbishop expressed a fear that the Diocese would not be able to face a further strain on it. "What is to happen in a year or two we cannot see, except abandonment, but God can open a way," he wrote of these Indian missions to the S.P.G. But he constantly pointed out that these missions must be maintained by the Diocese, if it was possible. The Rev. A. E. Cowley, a son of Archdeacon Cowley and the Secretary of the C.M.S. in Rupert's Land, said after the Archbishop's death :

> I should like to bear testimony to the real interest always displayed by the great Archbishop in the effort to impart to the scattered tribes of Indians in this country a knowledge of God, and to raise them to a higher plane of civilisation. My heart has warmed to him as he has championed the cause of the poor Indian both on the missionary platform and in the meetings of the Executive Committee. While sometimes with some there appeared a feeling that the work was not worth the expenditure, it was not so with the Archbishop. He was too just to overlook their claims, and had too much of the spirit of the Master to despise them. He never refused to see an Indian, however humble, who came asking for an interview, and none went away from his door without help and encouragement.

Frequent mention has been made in this chapter and elsewhere of the increasingly large sums raised in the Diocese for its missions and otherwise ; much of this success had been due to the ability and tact and energy of the first General Missionary, Canon Rogers, but in 1898 he fell ill, and had to leave the country. It was hoped that he would recover, but as his health did not improve sufficiently he resigned, and in 1901 the Rev. C. N. F. Jeffery, a graduate of St. John's, was appointed to the vacant position. The illness and

retirement of Canon Rogers was a great grief to the Archbishop, who said he was an "invaluable man." Another loss which he felt deeply occurred in 1901 in the death of Dean O'Meara, who had succeeded Dean Grisdale as head of St. John's Cathedral when the latter was elevated to the Bishopric of Qu'Appelle. Dean O'Meara had been associated with the work of the Church and of the College since the early 'seventies (see p. 235), and had rendered excellent service to both. "One of my dear helpers for twenty-nine years," the Archbishop sadly wrote, "has passed away." Canon Matheson succeeded Dr. O'Meara as Dean of Rupert's Land.

In 1899 the Archbishop thought the time had come for the formation of a new See—that of Keewatin. The Bishop of Moosonee was anxious for a division of his See owing to the difficulty of giving it efficient supervision, and the Archbishop proposed that the western portion of Moosonee and the eastern portion of his Diocese of Rupert's Land should be erected into a new Bishopric. The new See was definitely established by the Provincial Synod of 1899. After a sufficient endowment had been secured, and the necessary legislation obtained, the House of Bishops met on April 9, 1902, and nominated Archdeacon Lofthouse of Moosonee as Bishop of Keewatin. This made the ninth Diocese of the Province of Rupert's Land. The Archbishop's original See was now divided into nine Bishoprics, this tremendous expansion having taken place within almost exactly thirty years. Dr. Lofthouse was consecrated at Winnipeg on August 18, 1902, the officiating Bishops being those of Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Calgary, Moosonee, and Qu'Appelle; Archbishop Machray was absent in England and

Photo Elliott and Fry, London.

BISHOP GRISDALE.

Photo Bruce, Toronto.

BISHOP LOFTHOUSE.

Photo Elliott and Fry, London.

ARCHBISHOP MATHESON.

seriously ill. Dr. Young, the Bishop of Athabasca, was the senior Bishop at the Consecration, but as his health was infirm it had been already announced that he was about to resign his See, and that an arrangement had been made by which the Bishop of Mackenzie River was temporarily to administer Athabasca. If this looked a backward step there was, on the other hand, the prospect of the early completion of the endowment of Calgary Diocese, when another Bishop would be added to the Province of Rupert's Land.

CHAPTER XX

CLOSING YEARS

1902–1904

It was not till 1902 that the Consolidation of the Church in Canada became, in the eyes of Archbishop Machray, a living reality. Always an intensely practical man, he looked to the General Synod for results, not so much for legislation for the whole Church, though that was good and desirable, and indeed necessary, but for prompt and decisive action as regards missions, especially missions in the ever-expanding life of the North-West. To the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land, held in 1899, he spoke in grave terms of the failure, so far, of Consolidation :

I cannot conceal from myself that there is much reason, especially in this Ecclesiastical Province, for dissatisfaction with the result of the Consolidation of the Church. A main object of it, at any rate with us, who have before our eyes the magnificent heritage of Canada in the North-West, was the strengthening and expansion of the Church by a unification that, we hoped, would promote and enlarge the missionary efforts of the Church. The scheme proposed by the Western Sub-Committee of the Mission Committee, nominated by the First General Synod, would have greatly conduced to this, but it failed to win the approval of the Eastern Sub-Committee. The counter-proposals of that Committee were accepted by our

Committee, though felt to be inadequate, and in the main adopted by the General Synod (1896).

It might have been expected that the Eastern Dioceses would have cordially worked a scheme which may be said to have come from their own delegates, and circumstances singularly favoured its early adoption. A special meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada, held only a few weeks after the General Synod for the election of a Bishop of Algoma, could have temporarily suspended the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society till the Provincial Synod of 1898 could dissolve it. So far, however, from such a course being followed, the Synod of Montreal, on the ground of an alleged violation of the Basal Principles of the General Synod, declined to elect representatives on the Mission Committee of the General Synod, and protested against any interference with the D. and F.M.S. I do not know if any other Synod took the same position, but the action of the Synod of Montreal was so far supported that it has not been possible to bring the scheme of the General Synod into operation, and the Provincial Synod of Canada has resolved not to dissolve the D. and F.M.S. until certain amendments are made by the General Synod. Even if the General Synod is agreeable to these amendments, the dissolution of the D. and F.M.S. cannot now take place before the meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada in 1904, and indeed not before that in 1907, unless a special meeting of the General Synod be called.

All this is far from satisfactory to us. The S.P.G. have adopted their policy of reduction with us avowedly on the ground of the Consolidation of the Church, throwing on what they call the richer Dioceses a greater responsibility and duty for the North-West than on them. Eastern Canada is aware how hardly the policy is bearing on the Church in this Ecclesiastical Province. It is difficult for us, then, not to feel that our friends in the Diocese of Montreal and in the Provincial Synod of Canada have been rather light-hearted in their treatment of this pressing subject. In view of the gravity of the consequences, the Diocese of Montreal might well have been content with simple inaction on its own part till its objection could be considered by the General Synod. . . .

Here, then, was the patent fact—the Consolidation of the Church had failed to bring about that great concerted effort to assist the missions to the thousands upon thousands crowding into the North-West, for which the Archbishop had looked and longed. The fight was desperate; was the General Synod to afford no help in this long-drawn struggle for the Church in these new lands of the West? It seemed like it. If that were the case—for the time being it was the case—of what use or service, then, was the General Synod? So far Consolidation had proved injurious, rather than favourable, to the missions. Was Consolidation a mistake? The Archbishop, hard-driven man that he was, had to face the question, not from any sentimental point of view, but in the cold, raw light of results, and the results were unsatisfactory. Yet Consolidation was, in itself, a good thing; wherein lay its weakness? Why was it that this good thing produced unsatisfactory results? Why was it an inefficient instrument? These questions led him to consider very closely the whole subject of the General Synod, and particularly what authority, if any, it possessed. Authority, to the full extent of its claim, had been given to it by the Province of Rupert's Land; of this there was no doubt. But had the Provincial Synod of Canada done the same? He said that it had not, and that in this lay the weakness of the General Synod. This was the open secret of its inefficiency. He said to his Provincial Synod in 1899:

> The nullifying of so much of the work of the last General Synod (1896) has led me to look into the position of the General Synod in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. It seems far from satisfactory. There has been no legislation of either the Provincial or Diocesan Synods

conveying to the General Synod, as we have done, the jurisdiction and authority it has claimed.

The General Synod was formed with the approval of the Provincial Synod of Canada by delegates from the Diocesan Synods, and a report recognising its formation was adopted by the Provincial Synod. Questions have been submitted to it by the Synods. Delegates were sent by the Diocesan Synods to the Second General Synod, according to the Constitution of the General Synod. The Provincial Synod proposes, on certain conditions, to merge in its Missionary Society its own Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. But does all this make the General Synod more than a kind of conference? Does it clothe it with any legal authority? I fail to understand how the General Synod can be the Supreme Governing Body of the Church over the legally established Synods of "Canada," unless authority is formally conveyed to it by proper legal methods.

The Archbishop then stated that prior to the meeting of his Provincial Synod, he had consulted several prominent legal authorities in Eastern Canada, and that they thought he was mistaken in his views. These gentlemen were Mr. Justice Hanington and Dr. Leo H. Davidson, the Assessors of the Prolocutor of the Lower House of the General Synod, and Chancellor Bethune of the Diocese of Montreal; they agreed "in the opinion that, though some more formal recognition might advantageously have been given, the various actions of the Provincial and Diocesan Synods (of 'Canada') make the authority of the General Synod legally binding in the fullest sense" within the limits it had set itself. The Archbishop was not satisfied, however, and in 1901 he addressed a Memorandum to the Provincial Synod of Canada, in which he asked that if there was the least ground for uncertainty measures should be taken to give the General Synod a

secure legal position. The General Synod was to meet in the following year, and if it passed again the Canon for a Supreme Court of Appeal (see p. 412) the Canon would then be operative. "It should, therefore, be clear," the Archbishop wrote, "that appeals can be carried to this Court from the Courts of the Province, and that its decision will be binding. In my view, the position of the General Synod as the Supreme Governing Body in the Province of Canada, and as such possessing authority on the part of the Provincial Synod, is so questionable that I should be unwilling to be a party to the passing of such a Canon, if the matter rests where it is."

In the years 1899, 1900, and 1901 the correspondence of the Archbishop on the subject of the General Synod was immense, with respect to both its legal authority and its missionary action. He was determined that the General Synod was to be no mere Debating Society passing academic resolutions; if he could not make it real, actual, vital, then he would not have it at all. He hoped for better things, however. "Perhaps, in a year or two," he wrote in 1900 to Mr. Matthew Wilson, K.C., of Chatham, Ontario, an influential layman in Eastern Canada, who was in sympathy generally with his views, "there may be a desire in Eastern Canada to have a really united Church worth some sacrifice, and to give up playing at a sham." The Provincial Synod of Canada met in September 1901, and passed legislation giving the General Synod further authority, which, while it was in accordance more or less with the Archbishop's mind, did not wholly satisfy him, but it went a long way towards it. He hoped it was enough, and that thenceforward the General Synod would take its proper place of supreme authority.

The danger point, however, had not been quite passed. The Church in Eastern Canada asked for increased representation for itself in the General Synod ; to this the Archbishop replied that if Eastern Canada was unanimous on this matter it should have what it sought, but the interests of Western Canada must not be lost sight of. Writing on October 16, 1901, to Mr. Wilson, the gentleman mentioned above, who had been largely influential in securing the desired legislation in the Provincial Synod of Canada, he said :

> If the Dioceses of the East with any unanimity wish for an increase in the representation, of course they will get it. It is curious how often Eastern men speak of the General Synod as if it was an external body, over which they had no control, and sometimes as if it lorded it over them. Why, the Eastern vote entirely preponderates. If, as many in the East, and most of the High Churchmen wished, the Dioceses had, as in the American Church, equal representation, then they might speak so. It was largely by the vote of the West, encouraged by myself strongly, that the present representation by proportionate numbers of clergy was adopted. But if the vote of the East is largely increased, and perhaps also the payment of travelling withdrawn, then there must be some way of allowing our Dioceses to nominate Eastern representatives, otherwise the West will practically disappear. I don't think the West will stand that. The fact is, that owing to the checkmating ways of the East the feeling for the General Synod is pretty well killed in the West, and it would take very little to put an end to the whole Consolidation.

The last sentence in the above quotation sufficiently indicates what had become the mind of the West with respect to the General Synod a short time before the meeting in 1902. The vital matter for the West was its missions, to which the "checkmating ways of the East" were doing harm. But the Provincial

Synod of Canada of 1901 carried the proposal to merge its Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in the Missionary Society of the General Synod, and the Archbishop trusted that the approaching General Synod would take such measures as would vitalise and energise this general Missionary Society, which had practically been moribund ever since the Diocese of Montreal had taken exception to it. To bring it back to vigorous life the Archbishop set about the preparation of a Canon dealing with the whole subject. At the Diocesan Synod of 1902 (May 21, 22) he spoke of the formulation by the General Synod, soon to be held, of a great scheme for missions as its chief work.

At this Synod the Archbishop mentioned that he was to go to England for a short visit. There was important Church business to do, and as Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, he had been commanded by King Edward to appear at the Coronation in Westminster Abbey. Reminding the Synod that the Coronation of the King had a great spiritual meaning, he said that he would be present at it, but hoped to return for the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land which was to meet in August. It was at this Diocesan Synod that he announced the "happy change" in the policy of the S.P.G. For a long time previous to his departure from Winnipeg the health of the Archbishop had been very indifferent, while his work had increased in many directions. The Diocese had grown very much, the College had grown, the University had grown, the business of the Advisory Board of the Department of Education had grown ; all made increasing demands on the strength of a man, now aging apace, who had never spared himself. Further,

as the Metropolitan and as Primate of All Canada, there was also a great call upon his time. The growth of the Diocese was seen from the Synod Report of 1902 ; on its list were eighty-five clergy and lay delegates from ninety-one parishes and missions. Visiting these parishes and missions involved much travelling, and he was no longer able to stand fatigue as in his earlier years, but he went on these journeys each week for episcopal duty on Sunday after Sunday in all sorts of weather. His principle was that if he made an engagement he must keep it, if it was at all possible. The following is taken from the Easter, 1904, number of *St. John's College Magazine* ; the article in which it appears is entitled "Our Old Commander," and was written by the Rev. J. F. Cross, Machray Fellow of the College :

In Church matters, as in all things, the Archbishop was animated by an abnormally strong sense of duty. It would be impossible for any one to obtain a more perfect knowledge of men and matters pertaining to the Diocese than he possessed. Once, when I chanced to be bound for Sunday duty at Westbourne, he was on the train, and learning that I was unacquainted with the place and people, at once drew out paper and pencil, made a plan of the village, and gave me minute directions as to whom I should call on and other particulars. Who can forget the awful blizzard of two years ago when he fought his way on foot through the cold and blinding snow to the station, carrying his valise the while, in order that, if possible, he might catch the early train to Minnedosa, where he had arranged to be on the Sunday? And yet we were not surprised that young and robust students feared to face the same awful storm.

That journey to Minnedosa in this "awful blizzard" was the beginning of a serious illness ; he was attacked by what was supposed to be lumbago ; he

could neither stand nor walk without a stick, and often was in much pain. He was no better when he left Winnipeg for England, and the long journey did not improve matters ; he was a very sick man when he arrived in London. For a month he was the guest of an old friend, with whom he had stopped on former visits, Mr. Chancellor Smith of Westbourne Terrace, but his condition grew gradually worse, and only once did he leave Mr. Smith's house—to attend a rehearsal of the Coronation procession at the Abbey. Eminent doctors had been called in, and on their advice he was removed to a nursing home, as grave symptoms had appeared. By the advice of Sir Thomas Barlow, resort was had to applications of the X-rays, which, in the skilful hands of Dr. Lewis Jones and Dr. Hugh Walsham, the X-ray experts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, were at once successful in freeing him from the terrible and agonising pain caused by his disease, and after they had been continued for a considerable period, checked the course of the malady and finally vanquished it. But he remained in the nursing home for nearly eleven months, and never properly recovered his strength or the full use of his legs, while the muscles of the heart and lower part of the body were left in a very weak state.

His mental capacity was as great as ever, and even before the application of the X-rays gave him relief from the pain he endured, he was employing his time on his work in one way or another. He had fully intended being present at his Provincial Synod which was summoned for August 20 and 21, 1902, but finding it was impossible he dictated and despatched an Address to be read at the opening of the Synod by Dr. Young, Bishop of Athabasca, who presided as Senior

Bishop over it. In this Address he referred to the completion of the endowment for the new Diocese of Keewatin, and mentioned that the endowment for the Diocese of Calgary had been completed. The Synod duly met, and amongst other things passed a resolution of sympathy with him in his illness. He had also looked forward with the keenest interest and the highest hopes to be at the meeting of the General Synod in Montreal, the sessions of which were to begin on September 3. He had already prepared the Canon on the general Missionary Society, and had discussed it by letter with some prominent Churchmen in both Eastern and Western Canada ; he had given formal notice of the Canon, which appeared on the agenda paper of the General Synod and was thus brought to the notice of the whole Church. From all sides he had met with encouragement, and he believed that with its adoption and earnest working the General Synod, and the Consolidation of the Church generally, would amply justify the expectations, and fulfil the hopes which had been entertained at the beginning. It was the most grievous disappointment to him not to be present at this Synod. However, he did what was possible in the circumstances : he composed and forwarded an Address to be read to the Synod by the Archbishop of Montreal (Dr. Bond), who had succeeded Archbishop Lewis as Metropolitan of the Province of Canada ; in the absence of the Primate, Archbishop Bond became President of the General Synod. After alluding in this Address to his illness ("The will of God be done ; He does all well," he wrote), the necessity for having more frequent meetings of the Synod, and the changes that had taken place in the Canadian Episcopate since its last meeting, he referred

to the recent action of the Provincial Synod of Canada, recognised "the utmost desire to do everything necessary" on its part, and trusted the arrangements made were thoroughly satisfactory; he suggested at the same time that it might be wise to appoint a strong legal committee to consider the whole question of the relations of the General Synod with the Provincial systems of "Canada" and Rupert's Land. With respect to the continuance of the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan of the Dioceses of British Columbia, an anomaly (see p. 397) made more pronounced by the action of the new Diocese of Kootenay, which had decided that its Bishop should be consecrated by the Primate of All Canada, he asked that a Committee should be appointed to look into the matter. He then came to the subject that lay closest to his heart:

> By far the most important question before the General Synod is the establishment of a Missionary Society for the whole Dominion. In the view of the West this has from the first transcended every other in importance, and was a main cause for the desire for the Consolidation of the Church. That was but natural. Great communities are rising up there, and the members of our Church that are entering and being scattered so sparsely over the vast regions of settlement are altogether unequal to the supplying themselves with the means of grace through the ministrations of the Church they love. They see great missionary societies supported by the whole strength of other bodies occupying the fields, and enthusiastic for the maintenance and extension of their special interests; but the action of the Church has been weak beyond expression, and any appreciable help from the East only brought out by spasmodic appeals from the needy Dioceses.

After discussing the Mission scheme of the General Synod of 1896, which had been rendered inoperative, he said:

The collapse of the scheme was a great disappointment to the West. At the suggestion of the Bishop of Ottawa (now Archbishop) I have, to expedite business, prepared the Canon which you have received. It simply introduces into the scheme of the last General Synod the amendments required by the Provincial Synod of Canada while somewhat simplifying it. But the mere passing of such a Canon will do little. It is hopeless to expect any adequate result unless adequate means are used. Economy is well, but may be carried too far. I believe there will be no worthy result unless an able and genial Secretary, a good man of business and effective in bringing out support, is secured. Arrangements are made in the scheme for deputations. Much will depend on the energy and business ability with which this is done. There will be at length an open door for appeals over the Church. This may put an end to the old local appeals, but, if so, there should be a generous effort to avoid in any case diminution of help—a strong and united effort to bring out a loyal observance of the Canon. . . . I hope that Canada will recognise that a special duty lies on it to help these young communities in the Dominion, and will make a great advance in its contributions.

Having touched on other branches of missionary work, Indian missions and Foreign missions, he said that next in importance to the establishment of a vigorous Missionary Society for the Dominion came the maintenance in efficiency of the Colleges of the Church. The amount of support given by the Church to its Colleges compared unfavourably with that given by other bodies to their Colleges. He illustrated this by taking the case of St. John's College, the Church College, which he had endeavoured to build up in Winnipeg :

The Colleges of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan Churches in Winnipeg are yearly largely assisted by their respective bodies, and there is from this not only the immediate help from a share of the general collection of the denomination, but

the Colleges being brought prominently before the Church receive many special gifts. St. John's College has no such assistance. I trust the Synod will not fail to deal practically with this matter. I may say that a measure of outside help is for my own College a vital necessity, not only for its efficiency, but almost for its existence. Any disaster to it would inflict the gravest injury on the Church.

Archbishop Machray closed this, his last pronouncement to the Church of Canada, as follows :

I have touched on these questions that seem to me of primary importance in the organisation of our Church if it is to meet the needs of our people. On their satisfactory settlement must depend the ability of our Church to do its duty in affording and extending its ministrations. Until this is secured the Church will never be at liberty to enter as it should on the grave questions of the day that affect the religious character and godliness of the nation. There is much to call out thought and anxiety. Many things combine to draw men from former habits of family prayer and public worship, and to lessen the sense of the sanctity of the Lord's Day, but on these depend vital religion. Intemperance, no doubt, continues to be an extensive evil, and demands the most earnest effort to remove as far as possible temptations to excess, and encourage habits of moderation. But the immoderate abandonment of so many to all kinds of amusement, and luxurious and extravagant living for their means, are doing even more to sap the foundations of honest social life.

The Church should in these matters give no uncertain sound. Its own members are largely culpable. And we may be sure if these tendencies are not checked, there will be neither the will nor the ability for the observance of what is due to God and to men. There is, in addition, the grave question of the upbringing of the young in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. In the circumstances of our modern life it is hopeless to look for this unless there is religious instruction in the day school. The teaching of the Bible and of the main truths of our Faith is of such vital importance for the country that I

trust the Church will not only press for it, but endeavour as far as possible by a conciliatory attitude to secure the support of the other great Protestant bodies. We must not insist on all we should like. Enough if we can secure what will give a full and satisfactory knowledge of the main facts and teaching of the Word of God.

Archbishop Bond, before reading Archbishop Machray's Address to the General Synod, said, "It has pleased God to lay upon our honoured and trusted Primate a very heavy trial. . . . The absence from this session of the Synod of our Primate inflicts upon us a great loss, as well as a deep sorrow; we sympathise with his disappointment, and we sorrow for his suffering, and we pray that God in His infinite mercy will so bless the efforts of the head and hand of science that he may be speedily and fully restored. But we shall greatly miss in our deliberations his long experience, his close study of various questions, and his wise advice." The Upper House immediately adopted and sent down the Canon the Archbishop had prepared; it was at once considered by the Lower House, and, with a helpful addition proposed by a Rupert's Land delegate, carried unanimously by a standing vote, whereupon all present joined in singing the Doxology. Before the Synod closed a Board was formed, and the Rev. L. N. Tucker, of Vancouver, was appointed Organising Secretary of the Missionary Society. Archbishop Machray thus had his wishes fulfilled. In proroguing the Synod Archbishop Bond observed, "We thank God that the Synod has been enabled by its loyalty and legislation to cheer him (Archbishop Machray) in his sick-room." In the course of the Synod a cablegram of sympathy was sent to the Primate from both Houses, which touched him deeply

and for which he was very grateful. But what pleased him above all was that the Synod, by its unanimous adoption of the Canon forming the Missionary Society for All Canada, had made Consolidation a living reality from which great results must flow. There was to be no longer a "checkmating East" and a dissatisfied West; both—all—were united in one sustained and splendid effort for the missions of the Church.

Of the Third General Synod the Archbishop wrote to Mr. Matthew Wilson, on November 12, 1902, incidentally giving his views on marriage with a deceased wife's sister, against which the Synod had pronounced:

> With great pleasure I take the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of the unbounded kindness shown me by the General Synod, and especially of thanking yourself for so kindly piloting the (Missionary Society) Canon through the House of Delegates. In most matters I go thoroughly with the action of the Synod. The only question in which my judgment would have led me otherwise was that in which I see you take a strong position adverse to what I think judicious. I am no advocate for action on the Deceased Wife's Sister Question, and I do not consider myself qualified by any full study to form an independent opinion, but from my general observation I think it would have been wiser to leave the subject quite alone. It is not the case (as stated in the Synod) that there is no prospect of the marriage being legalised in England; at present the prospect is quite the other way. . . .
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> Several of the Bishops at the last Convocation of Canterbury admitted with apparently no opposition that it could not be held that there was clear, direct Scriptural authority against the marriage, but they drew indirect Scriptural authority apparently from the passage of the man and woman being one flesh. That has always seemed to me a questionable extension of that statement; I question if it was intended to go beyond the relations of the immediate parties, for St. Paul grounds the

statement on the personal relations apart from marriage in 1 Cor. vi. 16. The Roman Catholic Church ordinarily forbids the marriage, but not from Divine prohibition, for it allows of dispensation. I doubt if any Protestant body but our own would now discipline for such a marriage. In the opinion of a majority of our laity here (in England) the marriage is not forbidden in Scripture. It seems to me that this view is extending so rapidly that I think it would have been wiser to wait. Already our own Synods are changing. The largest Colonial Diocesan Synod, that of Sydney, Australia, affirmed by a large majority the following resolutions last month:

1. The table of kindred and affinity is not part of the Prayer Book.
2. The marriage is valid according to the law of the State.
3. Such a marriage is not prohibited in Scripture.
4. Such a law is not in contravention of any law of the Church.

So I would have said, in view of the trend of critical and general opinion, it would be better to observe the Scotch proverb—"Ca' canny."

The General Synod seems to have been a great pleasure to all attending it. Now, I hope the new (Missionary) Society will be taken up warmly.

The Archbishop's illness brought to his side a host of kind and sympathetic friends, amongst them being the Williams-Ellises and others whom he had known for many years, while those still remaining of "old acquaintance and friendship," who were unable from age or infirmity to see him, sent affectionate and cheering messages. The most eminent in Church and State called on him. Lord and Lady Strathcona were particularly kind and attentive, calling frequently and sending fruit and flowers constantly; Lord Strathcona, it will be remembered, was the Mr. Donald Smith who acted as Commissioner for the Dominion during

the Red River Rebellion. Lord Strathcona had been a generous contributor to the various Funds raised by the Archbishop, having given $3000 (£600) to the College Endowment Fund, and $1000 to the Machray Fellowship, besides $1000 towards the debt on Christ Church, Winnipeg, a contribution which, the Archbishop said, "really saved the parish." He had also given smaller sums for other objects. To the Archbishop personally he showed great kindness. "To the generous friendship and regard of Lord Strathcona I owe the skill which has done so much for me," the Archbishop said in his Address to the Diocesan Synod of 1903; and when, during his illness, the Archbishop spoke to him of the needs of the College, presently to be related, Lord Strathcona came forward with a donation of $5000, which he afterwards raised to $10,000 (£2000).

As the Archbishop was unable to go to see the Secretaries of the Church Societies, they went to see him—Bishop Montgomery of the S.P.G., the Rev. J. D. Mullins of the C.C.C.S., Prebendary Fox (who as an undergraduate at Cambridge had known the Archbishop when Dean of Sidney) of the C.M.S., and the Rev. W. Osborn B. Allen of the S.P.C.K. Rupert's Land was greatly indebted, as has been seen, to all these Societies. The S.P.G., having changed their policy of reducing their grants, had voted £8000 ($40,000) from their Bicentenary Fund for establishing new missions in North-West Canada, and the allocation of this sum was left by Bishop Montgomery to the Archbishop, who was greatly cheered and heartened by this substantial addition to the missionary resources of the Church in Rupert's Land. The C.C.C.S. were also enlarging their grants, and the S.P.C.K., ever most

helpful within their own lines, were anxious to do what was in their power. With the missions in the new settlements of the West in better case than ever before, the Archbishop towards the end of 1902, when he was feeling better, and able to drive out for an hour or two on fine days, turned his attention to procuring means for assisting St. John's College. Had it not been for the College, he wrote to Bishop Montgomery, the money given by the S.P.G. and the other Societies to the missions would have done comparatively little good.

St. John's College had done a great work in Western Canada. In 1902 more than half of the clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land had been trained in the College, and many of its graduates were clergymen in various Dioceses, both in other parts of Canada and in the United States. As has been repeatedly mentioned, the College-Cathedral staff had opened and nursed many, if not most of the missions in the Diocese, and even farther afield, until they were able to have resident clergymen. But St. John's College, in addition to its work for the Church in educating clergy, had also its work for the University of Manitoba,[1] its secular work in educating men for the professions and other walks of life. In the early days of the University when students were few, the courses of study were pretty well confined to Classics and Mathematics, but as the country grew, students and the courses of study alike multiplied, and St. John's and the other Colleges forming the University found great difficulty in providing the necessary facilities, especially with respect to the teaching of

[1] The Council of the University in 1902 presented to the Archbishop, as its Chancellor, an address of congratulation on his seventieth birthday, and of thanks for his great services to it.

Natural Science. The Archbishop's sympathies went entirely with a wide extension of University instruction, and as the Colleges were thus not sufficiently equipped, he headed several deputations from the University to the Government of Manitoba, with a view to the appointment by the Government of Professors in Natural Science. As the work of the University extended, the demands on the Professors of St. John's College increased, so that it was often very difficult for them to act also as missioners—the work was too heavy; thus the College needed strengthening on its secular side by the appointment of lecturers and teachers, not only to set free the Professors, who were primarily Divinity Professors, for their purely religious work, and such other work as they could undertake, but also to have the advantage of the services of men who were specialists in their own particular line of study. But the College had not sufficient means to undertake all this; it therefore looked to the Government to subsidise or provide some Professorships in the University, the occupants of which would give lectures to its students; the other Colleges were in the same position.

The Manitoban Government decided to erect buildings suitable for the teaching of Natural Science in the University, and they erected them on a site which, while it was only half a mile from Manitoba and Wesley Colleges, was three miles from St. John's College and nearly two miles from St. Boniface College. The distance was felt to be a great handicap to St. John's, and a movement was set on foot for the purpose of building a new St. John's College close to the Government University buildings, and this movement was endorsed by the Diocesan Synod of

Phot. H. G. MacTavish, Toronto.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA.

1902. A further reason for building a new College was that the existing building was too small ; for many years it had housed both the students of the College and the boys of the College School, which was not in itself a desirable arrangement. The idea was that the existing building was to be given over to the College School, and the new building devoted entirely to the College. The Archbishop concurred, but said that after his experience with respect to the existing College, the debt on which had not yet been paid off though it had been reduced, he had learned to proceed warily, and must insist on the extinction of the debt before going further. He agreed, however, that as the values of land in Winnipeg were constantly rising, a site for the proposed new College should be purchased, and it was towards this that Lord Strathcona gave the donation mentioned in a preceding paragraph.

Before returning to Canada in the spring of 1903, the Archbishop placed the needs of the College fully before the Societies. He was also occupied at this time with the filling of a Professorship in the College. The Chair of Systematic Theology, to which a Canonry of St. John's Cathedral was attached, was vacant. Finally he selected the Rev. J. O. Murray, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and at the time Curate of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Canon Murray entered on his duties at St. John's in 1903. In one of his last communications to Bishop Montgomery before leaving for Winnipeg, the Archbishop again pleaded for St. John's College, which, in that year, was to add five young clergymen to the Church. More men, however, were wanted than St. John's could turn out ; this was owing to the renewal of assistance on a large scale by the S.P.G.

The Archbishop was very anxious to get back to his Diocese as soon as his health permitted, and he was glad when his doctors said he might undertake the journey. In May he went back to Canada, being accompanied by his nephew, Mr. John A. Machray, who had lived with him at Bishop's Court, Winnipeg, for several years, and had come expressly to England for the purpose of conducting the Archbishop home again. He bore the long and trying journey well, and on June 14 was able to take all the necessary parts in the Ordination of three Deacons and six Priests in his Cathedral. He gained a little in strength, but he very soon came to the conclusion that he required the assistance of a Suffragan. He was fairly well in the house, and carried on his very extensive correspondence as in former days, but he was unable to stand for any length of time owing to the weakness of his muscles, and the journeys he had been wont to make to the parishes and missions outside Winnipeg were no longer possible.

His Diocesan Synod met on July 8 and 9, and he presided over it and delivered an Address, in which he gratefully acknowledged the many kindnesses shown to him during his illness. Referring to his failing strength, he said he must have episcopal assistance. There were now nearly a hundred clergy and 300 congregations scattered over a Diocese only a little less in size than England; he had therefore summoned a special meeting of the Provincial Synod to grant him a Suffragan, but at the same time the Synod would elect a Bishop for the Diocese of Saskatchewan, the See having been made vacant by the choice of the Bishopric of Calgary by Bishop Pinkham. The year 1902 had been one of great prosperity in Manitoba,

which had received an addition of something like 100,000 settlers. The Archbishop uttered a warning note, as his thoughts went back to the terrible depression that followed the "Winnipeg Boom" of twenty years before: "The unbounded prosperity and hopefulness of the present is not without its risk. Many of us cannot yet have forgotten the cruel reverses and ruinous reaction of the 1882 period. . . . Let us pray that as our people in this fair land grow in material means, they may still more richly abound in those heavenly treasures which moth and rust cannot consume, laid up where thieves cannot break through and steal."

In September of that year the Archbishop caught a bad chill, with fever, which confined him to his room for some days, but he recovered, and was able to preside over the meeting of the Provincial Synod which was held on October 1 and 2, and deliver an Address in which he asked for a Suffragan, spoke of the election of a Bishop for Saskatchewan, and regretted the approaching resignation of Dr. Young, the Bishop of Athabasca, because of ill-health. While the Synod was in session, the Bishop of Qu'Appelle came from the Upper House to the Lower with the message that the Bishops had unanimously elected Dr. Matheson, Dean of Rupert's Land, as Assistant Bishop of Rupert's Land. Dr. Newnham, Bishop of Moosonee, was translated to Saskatchewan. Dr. Matheson's appointment as Suffragan was a great joy to the Archbishop. Writing to his old friend and Commissary, Mr. Jones, at Dedham, he said: "My Suffragan, Dr. Matheson, Dean of Rupert's Land, Prolocutor of the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land and of the General Synod of Canada, has been brought up under my eyes in

St. John's College School and St. John's College. His appointment is a great pleasure and comfort to me." Bishop Pinkham, presiding as Senior Bishop at the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land in November 1904, spoke of the closing scene of the Provincial Synod of 1903 as follows :

> We had unanimously given our beloved Archbishop the man of his choice to be his assistant in the work of his episcopate, and the Synod had chosen as my successor in Saskatchewan the Bishop whose translation to the vacant See he earnestly desired. The Bishops, with their Archbishop at their head, had come to the Lower House that his Grace might declare the Acts of the Synod and close the proceedings with his benediction. All eyes were turned to that splendid figure, so noble in countenance, so dignified in bearing, wearing over his robes the insignia of the dignity conferred upon him by his Sovereign ten years before. How disease, pain, and weakness had told upon him ! How clearly, it seemed to some of us, the hand of death was upon him ; and, indeed, at one moment it seemed almost as if he might pass away in our presence, yet in an instant, and to correct a slight clerical error, there was the flash of his intellect, showing, as indeed was clearly manifest throughout all the proceedings and also afterwards, that his mental power was in no sense diminished.

Dean Matheson was consecrated in Winnipeg on November 15, the officiating prelates being the Archbishop, who was able to preside, and the Bishops of Calgary, Qu'Appelle, and Keewatin. In a letter, dated November 23, 1903, to Mr. Jones, the Archbishop wrote : "I continue very well in the house, can preside at important functions, can lecture the theological students, of whom we have this year twenty-three, in Ecclesiastical History and Liturgiology, can carry on all episcopal correspondence, but I have not the power of locomotion but with difficulty and discomfort—cannot

stand for above two or three minutes without discomfort and pain in the muscles of the loins. I should try to move about more than I do, but it is not easy to do it. My dear friend and pupil, Dean Matheson, was consecrated on the 15th. This is a great relief—he can take all outside work."

On December 29 the Archbishop despatched a very lengthy letter to Bishop Montgomery of the S.P.G., pleading once more for help for St. John's College, especially in view of the new building required in the neighbourhood of the University buildings. In this letter he reviewed the endowments held by the College for its General Endowment, and for its Professoriate, and the Machray Fellowship, and the income derived from these endowments. As these endowments represented one great aspect of his work, they are of special interest. When he became Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1865 there was no endowment in the Diocese save for the Bishopric only. The College endowments in 1903 were:

1. General Endowment Fund of about $60,000
2. Professoriate Endowment of about . 85,000
3. Machray Fellowship of about . 25,000

$170,000 (£34,000).

In addition, the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral, all of whom were Professors in the College, with an income from both, had a capital or endowment of about $100,000 (£20,000). But valuable as these endowments were to the College, they were in themselves small, and barely sufficient to get men of adequate academic standing and attainments. The College needed a larger staff, but had not the means to

obtain it. Besides, there still existed a College debt of some $37,000 (£7400). And now there was the new effort to erect a College building which would call for at least a sum of $70,000 (£14,000). In these circumstances he asked the S.P.G. to come to the assistance of the College, which apart from the interest on its General Endowment Fund, fees, and Diocesan contributions, had no other sources of revenue, while on the other hand the College had to help most of its theological students, though some of them were assisted by studentships voted by the English Societies. In February 1904 he again wrote to Bishop Montgomery about the College, stating that it had received a legacy of £2000 from Miss Fowler, who in her lifetime had contributed various sums to the work of the Diocese. In this letter he said that a Warden was now required for the College, who should also be Professor of Biblical Criticism. This was one of the last letters he wrote, and showed him, as ever, planning for the welfare of the College.

But it was not only of the College he was thinking in these last days of his life. A letter in February to the C.M.S. discussed the appropriateness of that Society giving a grant to the endowment of the Bishopric of Selkirk—the far northern See still held by Bishop Bompas. Another letter written towards the end of January is filled with a description of the progress of Manitoba, which, in the previous year, had received another great influx of settlers. A fresh "Boom" was in full tide in Winnipeg, which was growing very fast into a large city, and all over the land. Thanks to the increased grants of the S.P.G. and the C.C.C.S., and of the new Missionary Society of Canada instituted by the General Synod, many missions

were being occupied, but still there were forty villages in the Province of Manitoba which had resident Presbyterian and Methodist ministers, but which had not clergymen of the Church. More men were required, more labourers in those fields white to the harvest. In another letter written at this time he applied for ten grants for as many churches from the Marriott Bequest, a fund administered by the S.P.G. for helping to build churches. One of his last letters asked for a grant for the missions of Glenboro and Wakefield from this Bequest.

The long, severe Manitoban winter told on the Archbishop in his enfeebled condition, and his weakness increased. Many old friends made opportunities to see him, and to dwell with him on the early days which now seemed uppermost in his mind. Till Christmas he had been able to attend the Cathedral for morning prayer, being driven the short distance of a few hundred yards from Bishop's Court. After Christmas he gradually failed, but it was hoped that in the spring he would regain his strength. However, towards the end of February he had an attack of pleurisy which confined him wholly to bed, but up to that time he had gone on with his work so far as was possible, giving lectures to students, seeing people on business, and attending to correspondence. On the morning of March 9 pneumonia suddenly developed, and in a few hours it was seen that he could not resist the attack. At his request his nephew John sent for Bishop Matheson, who contributes the following account of the end :

The Archbishop was characteristically himself to the very last. The day before he died I was down for a Confirmation at Wawanesa, and seeing that he was very ill I suggested that

I should not go. His reply was, "You must never allow private obligations to interfere with public duties, for where would that end? Go out to your Confirmation and never mind me." I went, but a severe snowstorm blocked the train at Morris, and while waiting there I was telegraphed for, and returned to find the Archbishop sinking. When I came into his room he said, "I am glad you have come, for I desire to partake of the Holy Communion. Get ready quickly, for the time is short." Seeing that he was very weak, though he followed the responses with a strong, clear voice, I left out one prayer. Putting his hand on mine, he whispered, "You have left out one prayer; say it even yet." After the Service he never spoke, but simply seemed to sleep away.

There he lay in a great stillness, in perfect peace, until the evening—and so died. He passed away on March 9, 1904, in the thirty-ninth year of his episcopate and the seventy-third of his life. The slow tolling of the bell of his Cathedral announced to his sorrowing people and the city which he had seen grow from nothingness to greatness that the strong and noble heart was for ever stilled.

Mourning was universal. The Archbishop had felt a great pride in the North-West, and the North-West was not less proud of him. He had been identified with it from the beginning—in a true sense he was the North-West, its leader in the things that were best, the greatest of its pioneers. It had come to know him, to trust him, to honour him, to love him. It was not only the members of his own Church who mourned him—they, indeed, sorrowed as for a father lost—but of all the Churches of the land. Amidst the many eloquent tributes evoked by his death, none was more striking than that of the Principal of Wesley College, Dr. Sparling, a leader of the Wesleyans, who said, "In my judgment 'there is a Prince and a Great

WINNIPEG, 1874.

Photo W. G. Macfarlane, Toronto.

WINNIPEG, 1904.

Man fallen this day in Israel.'" The Government of Manitoba, rightly interpreting the sentiment of Winnipeg and the whole country, decreed a State Funeral. The greatest regret was felt throughout the Dominion, and numerous were the public expressions of sorrow in all parts of the Church for the passing of the Primate—the first Primate of All Canada.

The arrangements for the funeral having been completed, the dead Archbishop lay in state on March 11 in the Legislative Chamber of the Province, multitudes of all classes passing before the bier and paying their tributes of homage and regard. The funeral took place on the following day with all possible ceremony. In the long and impressive procession to St. John's Cathedral, in whose historic and beautiful graveyard the body was to be interred, the chief men of the country and of all denominations, members of the Government, representatives of the University, leaders in every department of the life of Manitoba—all took part. The pall-bearers were the four senior clergy of the Diocese and four representative laymen, amongst the latter being Sheriff Inkster, who had escorted the Archbishop to the old Red River Settlement nearly forty years before. The Service in the Cathedral and at the grave was conducted by Bishops Grisdale and Matheson and the Rev. A. E. Cowley—the last name recalling that of Archdeacon Cowley (Mr. Cowley's father), the missionary who had stood by the Archbishop's side at the beginning of his episcopate.

The burial scene, as the body was committed to the earth, was sad, melancholy, yet austerely beautiful. It was a Manitoban winter day of the sombre type, with a lowering sky—a day, it seemed, in keeping with the occasion ; snow lay thick and white on the graves and

the roof of the humble Cathedral the dead man had loved. The people for whom he had worked and thought and struggled stood all about him, hushed, heavy with sorrow, knowing that they would see his face no more and never listen to his voice again, but sorrowing not as those without hope. "In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," read Bishop Grisdale from the Office for the Dead. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

. . . . . .

Surely no more happy inscription was ever placed on a memorial to the dead than that which is chiselled on the beautiful Iona cross of Aberdeen granite standing over the Archbishop's grave in the shadow of the Cathedral at St. John's, Winnipeg :

"He fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power."

The original Diocese of Rupert's Land (outlined thus — · — · —) comprised the existing Dioceses (outlined thus.....)
of Rupert's Land, Moosonee, Athabasca, Saskatchewan, Qu'Appelle, Mackenzie River, Calgary, Selkirk and Keewatin.

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